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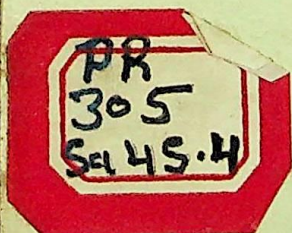
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(HUMANITIES)



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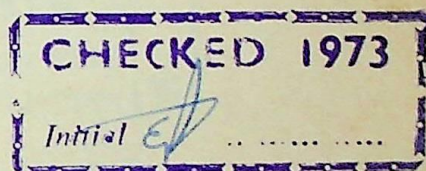
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Sambalpur University Journal

(HUMANITIES)

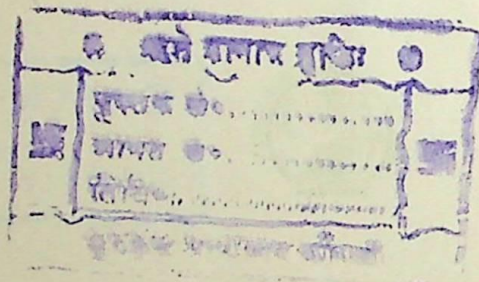


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HUMANITIES

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EDITORIAL

THE third issue of the Journal came out in July, 1971 and this is the fourth issue.

An important change has been introduced in the University Journal this time. The Science and Technology Section and the Humanities section have been separated into two different volumes to facilitate easy and proper distribution.

The University has at present 120 candidates (teachers and full-time research scholars taken together) who have registered for their Ph. D. degree. The University Regulations permit publication of research papers based on the Ph. D. thesis materials and before the thesis is submitted to the University. It is, therefore, natural that most of the scholars prefer to publish their articles containing original thoughts in journals reputed in the specific fields of knowledge and which have a very wide circulation both within the country and abroad. Delay in publication of the University Journal also becomes an important factor for the scholars to hesitate in contributing their research articles to this journal as in the competitive world of research today there is the possibility of the same problem being worked out at different centres of research and delay in publication of the result may make a world of difference between two similar works. The articles published in the University Journal, therefore, may not reflect the true standard of work that is being done by the scholars of the University to-day. Yet, articles published in this volume will, I am sure, be of great interest to the scholars of the respective fields working in other Universities and research centres. It is hoped that time will soon come when due to the wide circulation of this journal and its timely publication, our scholars will consider this journal as one of the best forums for publishing their papers.

B. BEHERA

Editor-in-Chief

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THE REBEL IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

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(Received on 29 September 1970)

This paper purports to examine in general the urges and factors which provoke the rebellious spirit, and apply them for a reappraisal of American literature of the past and the present. In doing so, the main criterion is the articulation of the spirit of protest and non-conformism based on experience in the diverse fields of life and organised into works of art.

The voice of rebellion has been distinctly heard, among others, in the writings of great American thinkers like Emerson and Thoreau on social and political problems, of satirists like Mencken and Sinclair Lewis, of ethically motivated novelists like John Steinbeck, and of poets like Robert Frost. The American revolt against the tyranny of the past has by no means been confined to local or national problems ; it has manifested itself with equal vigour in the portrayal of universal problems, such as the conflict of the human heart with itself, and the forces of evil struggling to conquer it. All aspects of life, including life itself have been critically examined in American Literature and a continuing process of new discoveries, new correlations and emphases has been going on.

The main contention of the paper is that the popular view of America being the citadel of reactionary materialism alone is contrary to the facts of history and that the spirit of rebellion is the leit-motiv of American Literature.

THE purpose of this paper is to examine the urges and factors behind the rebellious forces in American literature, with relevant illustrative examples from the works of eminent writers. In doing so, I shall endeavour to look at the questions from an angle different from that of the excellent series of lectures published in *The Young Rebel in American Literature* edited by Carl Bode.

I would like to start my discussion by answering the question, who is a rebel in literature ? A rebel—not only in literature but in other fields too—is one who feels discontented with personal and social life and repudiates the scale of values of his neighbours, his country and his time. His discontent may be inborn and temperamental, or the outcome of circumstances and events in his own or in his country's life that bring him into collision with the ways of thinking, feeling and acting of his fellow men. He protests, opposes, agitates, taking his stand on ideas and ideals that call for a partial

or complete rejection of prevalent conventions. The conflict between his inner dream and public fact fills him with dismay. He longs to scrap the existing social fabric and weave a fresh one that will satisfy his concept of justice and fairplay.

The rebel in literature differs from other rebels in the degree of sensitivity, in his power to give eloquent expression to his heart's tumult. He is better equipped intellectually, and can discern with ease the currents and eddies of the life around him. He combines belief with passion, and labours to build up public opinion by disturbing the conventional pattern of thinking, and creating in its place a more just and rational body of opinion. He cajoles and ridicules, blusters and bludgeons his fellows into loosening their hold on traditional views. The work of the literary rebels is a continuing process, for the heresy of one generation may well be the orthodoxy of the next.

In the following survey I shall deal with some rebels of American Literature, not in a chronological order, but according to their experience organised into the work of art and their diversified views of life in several fields, such as religion, politics, sociology and ethics.

Starting with St. Jean de Crevecoeur and Thomas Paine, many American literary rebels have turned their guns on the church and organized religion.

He, though full of admiration for the Puritan past, was a church, denouncing its intolerance and hypocrisy. More forthright in condemning the drawbacks of the City School Address' he finds fault with 'a decaying unbelief' and pleads for 'new love, new faith, new Melville's *Moby Dick** also, we can see at work anness against the orthodoxies of religion. The concept ter of Ahab, a man with grievances, is directed against which embodies for him all the evil forces in the world. ated and his obsessive revenge lasts to the very end of his li. allowed up in his doom. Ahab himself wonders at the mystery of his rebellion. He says : "What is it, what nameless, inscrutable, unearthly thing is it, what cozzening, hidden lord and master, and cruel, remorseless emperor commands me ; that against all natural lovings and longings, I so keep pushing, and crowding, and jamming myself on all the time ; recklessly making me ready to do what in my own proper, natural heart, I durst not so much as dare ?"*

The voice of rebellion expresses itself in politics. In the *Declaration of Independence*, Jefferson proclaimed his belief "in the right, the duty of men to throw off tyrannous government and to provide new guards for their future security." "It behoves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasion of it in the case of others", he stated in a letter to Benjamin Rush in 1803. These two statements prefigure the militant

* *Moby Dick*, p. 508, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1968.

concern for liberty and rebellious resistance to tyranny that have marked American national life since Jefferson's time.

The wholeness and inevitability of democracy has been questioned. Its basic premise of belief in majority rule was disputed by that prince of rebels, Thoreau. In *Civil Disobedience*, he described all voting as a sort of gaming. "There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men." He even challenged the power of the State to impose its will on its citizens. "There will never be a really free or enlightened state until the state comes to recognise the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly." The same premium on the individual is set by Emerson, when he asks in the 'American Scholar': "Is it not the chief disgrace in the world, not to be an unit. . . but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred, or the thousand of the party, the section to which we belong, 'and our opinion predicted, geographically, as the north, or the south'?"

The romantic spirit of rebellion first appeared with Emerson and Thoreau. They are not content with a negative attitude of protest and criticism. They seek to disturb and destroy only so that they may construct and create a superior world of just, moral and social values. They are sturdy, often lonely, individualists, whose voice may be a cry in the wilderness for a while but will come to prevail sooner or later. The romantic spirit, in fact, encouraged an optimistic expectation of improvement. But it did not lull American thinkers into a sense of complacency or a meek acceptance of the existing social order. Both Thoreau and Emerson revolted against slavery, and the worship of property and business. Their successors have been no less rebellious against social and economic injustice. To detail their names and their works would be far beyond the scope of this paper. A few random instances will suffice to bring out the continuing concern in American Literature with social issues.

William Cullen Bryant asserted the right of workmen to strike and the freedom of speech. . . . Mark Twain satirized economic and social disorders. . . . Hamlin Garland raised a protest against the toil and the poverty of the Middle Border in its early days. Garland's *Return of a Private* (1890) is typical of the warm compassion and poignant interest of his best stories; it describes the painful return to peace of a Union soldier and ends: "His war with the South was over, and his fight, his daily running fight with nature and against the injustice of his fellow men was begun again." In these and other writers the note of social protest is distinctly heard, but it is oftentimes marred by an open propagandist bias.

Our own times have witnessed an increasing awareness of social maladies. Sinclair Lewis has in *Babbitt*, *Arrowsmith* and other novels lashed out against social evils like hypocrisy and provincialism. With the fury of an iconoclast, H. L. Mencken has challenged almost every cherished American tradition such as the sanctity of the home and the purity of the wedding tie.

The scorning protest in Mencken and his like is so vehement that one cannot help asking if they are not protesting for protest's sake, making a fetish of it. One feels a little ill at ease in their company and turns with relief and pleasure to poets like Frost who have a 'lover's quarrel with the world' and agitate for a responsible individualism, with the quiet authority of inner conviction and the restraint of great art.

Ethical codes are the target for assault by writers like Theodore Dreiser. His *Sister Carrie* (1900) and other novels question the conventional ethical codes which hold men to standards of irrational conduct. They seem at first sight determinist and amoral in conception. Their positive appeal lies in their affirmation of the vitality and importance of life and their sincere sympathy for the underdogs of society. Nearer our time we have the writings of Steinbeck motivated by rebellious sympathy for the poor and the luckless. Steinbeck's novels, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) in particular, are directed against the political and economic forces that divide men and 'limit or destroy the individual'. The novel deals, not with the "Separate Man", as Henry James does, but man "separated" from man.

Recent American Literature has kept up the dissatisfaction with conventional values. In prose, poetry and drama there is a mounting challenge to the values of the past and a probing inquiry into all aspects of life, including life itself. The most striking feature of this American revolt against the tyranny of the past is that it transcends the confines of American life and reaches out to the wider human scene. This is by no means a late development ; as early as the eighteenth century Thomas Paine proudly asserted : 'My country is the world and my religion is to do good'. Paine proclaimed his faith in the doctrines of the social contract, political liberalism and the equality of all men. In *Common Sense* he stated : "Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger." In spite of involvement with local and national issues, the American writer has not been unaware of world issues and general human problems, and has more and more moved from the precinct of local ideas to a wider sphere of motive and idea. Literature and its most sensitive genre—poetry, expresses this universality. No wonder, the poetry of Americans like Emily Dickinson, Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg have, even while confining their materials to the American scene, revolted against human evils. Who can mistake the rebellious spirit of Emily Dickinson, when she writes :

Much madness is divinest sense
To a discerning eye ;
Much sense the starkest madness.
'Tis the majority
In this, as all, prevail.

Assent, and you are all sane ;
 Demur, you're straightaway dangerous,
 And handled with a chain.

Or of Robert Frost's Lines :

....life is too much like a pathless wood
 Where your face burns and tickles with the cobwebs
 Broken across it, and one is weeping
 From a twig's having lashed across it open.

Again, one can observe the note of pity, tenderness, revolt and faith in Carl Sandburg's 'The People, Yes' :

The people will live on.
 The learning and blundering people will live on.
 They will be tricked and sold and again sold

.....
 The people take the earth
 As a tomb of rest and cradle of hope.
 Who else speaks for the Family of Man ?

In Fiction too there is the same story of man. In Faulkner's novels we have 'The human heart in conflict with itself'. He is up in revolt not so much against some local evil as against the forces of evil struggling in the heart of man. The young rebels in Faulkner's novels fall into two groups : 'the Damned and the Doomed', that is, those who take it on themselves or are rather doomed to save their fellow men, and those who damn and are damned by others by becoming the victims of social wrongs. In *The Sound and the Fury*, Quentin Compson is the "doomed" idealist who tries to save his sister Caddy and dies in the pursuit. Jason Compson, the "damned", destroys the people one after another in his perverted fanaticism. His works truly embody the vision of man's future set out in his 'Nobel Award Acceptance Speech' :

"I believe that man will not merely endure ; he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice, but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance."

America still seems to the outside world a land of rampant materialism and deep-seated traditions, that insists on conformity in thought and frowns deviationists. Such an impression is certainly against the facts of history, for how could a country that had its origins in the pioneering attempts of early Puritan settlers, that fought for and won its independence over political and economic issues and that has over the ages expressed itself boldly against

***Presented in the Seminar on American Literature (Sponsored by the Mysore University and United States Education Foundation in India, New Delhi) held in December, 1968 at Mysore University.

social inequalities be labelled conformist and traditional ? A clinching argument against the popular and misleading view that America stands for reaction and status quo is provided by its literature.

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PÄR LAGERKVIST : HIS DEVELOPMENT AS AN EXPRESSIONISTIC DRAMATIST

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(Received on 3 November 1970)

THE purpose of this paper is to study the plays of the great Scandinavian dramatist Pär Lagerkvist with a view to tracing his development as an expressionistic dramatist from 1910 to 1949. The following plays will be discussed :

1. *The Secret of Heaven*, 1919
2. *The Hangman*, 1933
3. *The Man Without a Soul*, 1935
4. *Midsummer Dream in a Workhouse*, 1941
5. *Let Man Live*, 1949.

This period (1919-1949), punctuated with two wars, was a momentous one in the history of the world. The various phases of spiritual conflict which the human mind went through during this period have been reflected in Lagerkvist's plays.

The most significant aspect of Lagerkvist as an artist is his use of various experimental techniques for communicating the changes in his vision of life. Each of his plays is distinct in form. Though Lagerkvist's experiments in technique have not been very revolutionary, except perhaps in *Let Man Live*, the plays do reveal the constant searching on the part of the dramatist for suitable forms, which will give adequate expression to his innermost feelings. To take a few examples, Lagerkvist often employs an abstract pattern as an effective substitute for a strong plot in holding the play together ; each act of *The Man Without a Soul* has a mood of its own and together the acts form a step-by-step movement from the wild and garish atmosphere to the disciplined and quiet atmosphere at the end. *Midsummer Dream in a Workhouse* has ABA form with the actions of A and B forming parallels on different planes. His last play *Let Man Live* dispenses with all conventional features of a play, such as, plot, characterisation, and dialogue.

In his essay *Modern Theatre* (1918) Lagerkvist gave expression to his protest against the naturalistic stage and made a plea for more imaginative expression. The realistic stage was confined to the portrayal of visible reality. So it restricted the artist and did not give free scope to his imagination. It was wrong in assuming that life is simple and clear-cut and that its conditions may be controlled. Thus it sought to provide man with a false sense of security. This sense of security has, however, no meaning for the modern man ; moral and spiritual problems are to be boldly faced

by him. Lagerkvist, therefore, advocated that the theatre should be free and try to give these internal conflicts an external form. The theatre should be a visual symbol, and less emphasis should be placed on words and ideas. As theatre is a form of artistic expression, it should not try to imitate reality but try to represent the activity of the mind. It should not be just an illustration, but a medium for imaginative expression. According to him, the theatre should have a lyrical and visionary quality. It should aim at producing an effect of concentration through the use of visual symbols.

The Secret of Heaven is directly the product of such thoughts. The conception and the setting of this play are poles apart from those of the naturalistic theatre. The 'massive blue-black hemisphere' is the visual symbol of earth. The old man standing on the apex of the arc and sawing wood is an easily recognizable symbol for God or Fate, who has no consideration for or communication with man and is busy in cutting away time all the time. The deformed men—the Dwarf, the Man with Crutches, Blind Man, etc.—stand for the deformed nature of humanity. The old lady, 'with a perpetual grin around her toothless mouth', is another sinister symbol. The powerful, heavy-limbed man, making each doll bow and then tearing off its head, is another grim symbol representing death. The girl, 'with dishevelled hair and distraught eyes', seeking for a missing string, represents the longing for an ideal, but her fascination for the Dwarf is a bitter commentary on life. There is very little communication among the characters; each of them is confined to his or her brutal existence. The man in Skull cap, who is trying to study the meaning of life, merely numbles from time to time: "The meaning, the real meaning of it all, it's this.... it's just this....that....that everything goes around, that it does. Everything goes in circles, that it does—That's the meaning, the real meaning of all this." There is a bitter display of the crudity and brutality of life: when the Girl shrieks, 'It isn't there. 'There isn't any' 'the Old Lady' joins in with her clucking laugh, which literally cuts through the air around her', the Dwarf teases her, and Man with Crutches spits in front of him. Only the Dwarf seems to be completely at ease in this brutal world. He 'minces about' swinging his cane' or inserts his thumbs in the armholes of his vest and stands insolently, glorying in his red vest'.

A Young Man comes and is terrified by the reality. He shrieks, 'Oh, God: oh, God....' A Swarthy Man scratches the earth all the time. Instead of a hand he has an iron hook. He is a visual symbol of the futility of human labour. The Dwarf gives a picture of reality as represented here when he says 'Ugh, there aren't any whole men left in the world'? The Young Man being the only whole man is a stranger in the world and is sneered at by all. The main idea of the play is expressed in the following dialogue:

Youth: But all the other things! All this horror!

Oh, tell me, what is the meaning of it all.

Is there really any meaning at all?

Skullcap : There is a meaning for everything, can't you understanding that ? But in each individual matter there's no meaning at all.

Youth : Then what is the meaning of the whole ?

Skullcap : Everything goes round. Everything—and there lies the meaning, itself. I've deduced all this myself.

Youth : (Despairingly) : And there's nothing more ?

Skullcap : (Affronted) : Nothing more—that's everything.

Nay.

The Girl's rejection of the Young Man and her fascination for the Dwarf are the most cynical things in the play ; these symbolize the impossibility of love. After his complete disillusionment and, 'when the playing and dancing becomes wilder and demonical,' the Youth shrieks 'Save me' ! rushes back and forth, finally rushes to the right of the arc, stands and hesitates, and then throws himself into the darkness.

In this play Lagerkvist tries to give a concrete shape to the ideas he enunciated in the essay. But this is by no means a satisfactory play. It is a vision of the ugly reality of life. There is a minimum use of words and profuse use of symbols. But the vision is one-sided and gives an exaggerated picture of the ugliness of life. The total impression is one of dark pessimism, indeed, cynicism. The vision reveals the immaturity of Lagerkvist. The play is a highly abstract play and lacks the vividness of great art. It is like a static picture and proves that, in spite of Lagerkvist's awareness of the need for a new type of drama, he has not been successful in creating one in *The Secret of Heaven*.

The Hangman is the dramatization of a novel. It, therefore, suffers from the element of narrativeness, which is a necessity in a novel but is not quite appropriate in a drama. In part I in the 'medieval tavern' the play proceeds only through narration, and there is very little visual effect. The taverners discuss at great length about the Hangman, particularly how, though evil, he can lead to 'good' and 'be a good human being' himself. The dramatist tries to produce visual effects by representing the episodes concerning the Carpenter's childhood experiences with the Hangman visually but these only serve as illustrations to the narration and do not make the play visual in the real sense. Here Lagerkvist is compelled to give prominence to words in spite of his views because the play is the adaptation of a novel. In this part, only after the entrance of Gallows Lasse, the play and the dialogue become lively. Gallows Lasse is the very embodiment of evil, and speeches and gestures give the impression of a grotesque character :

Gallows Lasse : (He rages as if he were possessed. They shrink back from him) : And when I got it up there came a crash all round me, rumbling and trembling ! The abyss opened and blood and corpses flooded up ! The darkness was sent and poured out fire over the world....horror and waiting....and

everything burning ! It was like hell let loose on earth.... Now I've got it ! Now I've got it ! I shouted. (He stands up and shakes the stumps of his arms above his head, like a hideous mutilated phantom. His wild glare seemed to be shattered and his voice had lost all human sound).

In part II of the play, where the scene shifts to a modern jazz-restaurant dancehall, there is variety. The fighting between the 'whites' and 'negroes' is a display of brutal realism. The dance to the accompaniment of jazz music, played by the negroes, is a very successful example of the technique of distortion which is used in expressive art :

(The Negroes play. Medley, with bloodshot eyes and hands and faces covered with blood, wild unearthly music.... A gigantic Negro stands right in front with clenched teeth beating his frenzied drum swirls as if he were possessed, blood streaming down his throat from a gaping wound in his head, and his rent shirt gleaming red.

The Whites dance, skipping and scurrying to the music : Splendid ! Magnificent ! That's the style ! That's the style !)

The play is full of such melodramatic effects. In spite of this sensationalism and melodrama, it is a better play than *The Secret of Heaven*. The action takes place here among real characters. Lagerkvist's vision here is more mature. He sees that there is the primitive Hangman-instinct in the modern man, but he also sees a ray of hope. The symbol of the Hangman, who emerges as a man of peace, dominates the play :

The Hangman is sitting at a long narrow table by the wall at the back of the stage. In the light of the smoky tallow candles he looks over the table big and powerful in his blood red dress. The mark of the hangman is branded on his forehead.

There is bitter irony but, at the same time, sympathy for humanity when the Hangman says,

"But I, your Christ, I live ! That ye may live ! I go my way of slaughter through the world and everyday I save you in bloodand me you do not crucify."

When the Hangman speaks like this, there is hope for humanity. That Christ's sacrifice will not go in vain is proved by these words :

Woman gets up....speaks across to him in a quiet voice, her face lit up with a secret, aching happiness :

You know that I wait for you ! I wait for you when you come bowed down and soiled with blood. And you can lay your head in my lap. I shall kiss your burning forehead and wipe the blood from your hand.

Hangman looks at her with a quiet, sad smile.

The next play *The Man Without a Soul* is placed in an absolutely naturalistic setting. Here Lagerkvist shows his skill as a dramatist in making

use of this setting for portraying the spiritual problems of humanity. The characters are symbols : they are presented as the Man, the Woman, and so on. But they do not cease to be individuals. The man has lost his soul by acting as a mechanical agent of terrorism, but he comes to realize the necessity for a soul at the end of the play. He comes to represent man's quest for peace :

Priest : Yes....(silence) He who gave you your anxiety, he must have some use for it. Don't you believe so ? And he will still have it some time in the light of his brightness.

Man : (looking away with eyes lifted. Finally he whispers quietly). Yes....yes....perhaps there is a meaning in it....yes, yes....I would like so much to believe that....

Priest : Perhaps God needs you, my son. Are you ready ?

Man : (moves his head slowly). Yes, yes.

The man has travelled a long way from Act I when he laughed at the idea of having a soul :

Woman : Haven't you got a soul, really ?

Man : No, of course not. Have you ?

He has come across love and has realized the value of human relationship. So Lagerkvist's vision in the play is enriched by the recognition of human life. The reality may be bad and depressing, but there are elements in human life (such as love) which lift a man up and give him his lost soul. The Mother has traditional devotion to God, and the Old Gentleman has faith in nature :

Well, after all, this is the only thing I've left in life, thing that hasn't changed. The lawns with all their lovely flower beds, the old lime trees—I suppose you've noticed that they're in bloom now, they began opening yesterday.

Lagerkvist's technique too has vastly improved. He makes use of subtle devices in his dialogue, suggestive words, gestures, and silence, in an expressionistic manner. For instance :

Woman (rises). A piece of paper ?

(Unfolds it. Turns deathly pale. Stares at the words).

Leo shot.....Leo.....shot.....

We must.....revenge.....him. No !

No ! You were in it ! (Reads in his face that such is the case. With new terror in her look).

But it wasn't you who....was it ?

Man (having turned away from her—after some hesitation. No.)

Woman : No, not you....And yet....and yet....Oh, God !

Lagerkvist is so much in love with life that he makes the nurse say :

Yes.....one death, and one life. It's often like that here. And still it is life that is victorious, so that it can go on. We must do our best so that it may go on.

So, from the standpoint of vision and technique, this is a great play.

The optimism and faith of Lagerkvist in the capacity of man's spirit to rise above temporary environmental calamities seem to have received a partial set back by World War II. *Midsummer Dream in a Workhouse* expresses the feelings of Lagerkvist during the war. Lagerkvist employs the dream technique in this play. But the dream technique as used by him is conventional. It has nothing of the pure dream-like quality of Strindberg's *A Dream Play*. In its portrayal of the ugliness of the Workhouse and the ugly characters (except Jones), it has echoes of the realistic drama. The Workhouse is ugly, but the world is bathed in beauty and loveliness on midsummer eve. The paupers are now old and unattractive, but each of them has pleasant memories of life. Lame Fredrick has lived a life of work, Enok recalls his dances, and even the Murderer has fond memories to look back upon. Deaf Anna is materially poor, but she is spiritually rich on account of her love. Even Ellen, who has become a tyrannical matron of a workhouse, was beautiful and worthy to be loved by a sensitive man like Jonas. Dreadful reality has changed her heart to stone.

Reality may be ugly, but every person has his means for overcoming its ugliness. Jonas, the blind old man, has his dreams, by which he can conquer this monster, and young people have their present enjoyment and future hope. The idea of the play is brought out clearly in the last part :

Cecilia : No, dreams are all right, I suppose. But you know, I think the greatest fun of all is to *wake up*. Just think on a day like today ! You've no idea how nice it is !

Blind Jonas : Yes ! you're quite right, little Princess ! You shan't spend your life dreaming ! On no ! Not you ! It's only old fogies like us who may do that, who have nothing else.

The play ends with the vision of life, which awaits young persons :

As long as one makes most of it—then it will really be a joy to live here—really a joy !—What unbelievable happiness there is—in the great kingdom of Joy. In the great kingdom of joywhere it is always Midsummer. In the great and everlasting—midsummer kingdom—of Joy and Love.

Good life is assured to young men and women, as long as they make the most of life, and on account of the war Lagerkvist cannot lay it down as a positive hope. It is significant that the vision of good life is conveyed in a dream, and Lagerkvist projects the ugly workhouse as a symbol of reality. The play has both a note of hope and a temporary sense of despair. So the play gives us Lagerkvist's vision of life in its sincerity, but it does not produce a striking and vital effect. The technique of the play is conventional, and the movement, slow. It is more poetic than dramatic. This play gives a true picture of Lagerkvist's state of mind in 1941, but it is not such a great play as *The Man Without a Soul*.

Let Man Live is a highly significant play both in content and form. In 1949 sincere efforts for peaceful co-existence were being made. Still the atmosphere of distrust, suspicion, and intolerance was beginning to spread. So Lagerkvist makes an impassioned plea—*Let Man Live* : man should be allowed to live, because as Paolo and Francesca say, "life is great and infinite". It ceases to become merely an idea in the play. Lagerkvist's sincere feeling and the urgency of his message lift the play and turn it into a vision of life.

Lagerkvist's technique is highly expressive and almost revolutionary. He dispenses with plot, characters, and action in the conventional sense. At the same time, the beginning of the play—

Chorus of Voices (out of the darkness on the stage) :

Who is the accused ? Who is the accuser ? Who is the judge ?
(The stage is lit. All the characters stand drawn up in a semi-circle.
Behind them it is dark.)

All : We are the accused ! We are the accusers ! We are the
accused ! We are the accusers ! Who is the judge ?

—recalls to our mind the chorus of Greek drama commenting on the action.

There is something highly original in Lagerkvist's conception as well as his execution of the idea. He takes characters from various countries, various stations in life, and various periods of history with differences in their moral code to express the vision—'Let Man Live'. He brings in even undesirable characters like Judas and A Witch, who had intercourse with Satan himself, to complain against their death. Every character had something to look forward to, love, service to humanity, or pleasure, before he was removed from life by the cruel hands of the society. This play shows the universal range of Lagerkvist's sympathy and his broad humanity. This is a new type of drama, where the character unfolds his essence to the audience, and there is no necessity for dialogue. Lagerkvist has employed dialogue only to express the beauty of love :

Paola : Come, dearest, let us live ! Live forever ! (The stars of
heaven light up. It seems as if they walk out into their
midst). Let us go through the starry portals.

Francesca : Through arches of Milky Ways.

P. : Let everything be endless.

F. : Everything is endless.

P. : Let man rejoice without end.

F. : Let Man live.

P. : Without end.

F. : Let man live.

P. : Let man live.

F. : Let man live.

The repetition of this sentence 'Let man live' like a refrain produces a sense of calm and harmony, as true music does.

So *Let Man Live* is a great play. It shows how expressionistic techniques can be used to produce the intended effect. Lagerkvist no longer needs the grotesque symbols of *The Secret of Heaven*, the melodrama of *The Hangman*, the realistic versimilitude of *The Man Without a Soul*, and the dream technique of *Midsummer Dream in a Workhouse*. He has mastered the technique of drama and can organise his material by keeping only the essentials. He has not forgotten the fears of reality, the wrong and cruel barbarism of humanity, but he has overcome these fears and can confidently express his faith in the glory of life as a bright and inspiring vision.

THE QUESTION OF HARD TIMES

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A balanced appreciation of the artistic merits of *Hard Times* is emerging in recent years. But a proper diagnosis of its limitations is still wanting. A survey of its rise and fall in critical esteem reveals how the novel has been felt by Dickens-critics as an uncomfortable object of appreciation on the basis of extra-aesthetic considerations.

An unbiased and close reading of the text, and comparison with the two novels that preceded and followed it, would lead one to its real weakness : lapse in the basic artistic design through the confabulation of grotesque satire and sentimental melodrama. An understanding of the manner of Dickens's failure here in compounding yet another excellent novel out of his perennial stock of humour and melodrama would also indicate the nature and greatness of his endeavour in *Hard Times*.

THE whirlgig of taste has made one definite qualitative re-ordering in regard to the novels of Dickens. As against the high appreciation earlier accorded to such works as *David Copperfield* and *Oliver Twist*, the new approach has been to focus a more searching and admiring gaze at the 'problem-novels' Dickens wrote in the eighteen-fifties. *Hard Times*, amongst these, is the one to have undergone the most striking critical metamorphosis. An investigation into its artistic success, therefore, first of all calls for an appreciation of the history of Dickens-criticism, the background against which the novel has had its rise into critical favour in the modern times.

The contemporaries of Dickens both praised and disparaged his craft for the very same qualities : the ones prescribed by Wilkie Collins ('Make 'em laugh, make 'em cry, make 'em wait') and so surpassingly mastered by Dickens. His comic gusto, his poignant scenes, and the superb handling of suspense in his novels came in for criticism as extravagant caricature, cheap melodrama, and naive plot complications. This pendulum-swing, applied both to plot and to characterization, describes almost the whole of Dickens-interpretation till the emergence of a new trend in 1939 with Edmund Wilson (*The Two Scrooges*) and George Orwell (*Charles Dickens*). Symbolic interpretations and thematic evaluations of the novels were, thereafter, systematically carried out in order to demonstrate an organised pattern of art and a cosmic vision of life emerging through them. Dickens was no more an 'entertainer', he was found to be excitingly 'modern' in his techniques and searchingly philosophical in his subject-matter.

Extensive 'moral' and 'symbolic' treatments for over two decades, thereafter, brought about a reaction in their turn. The moral and intellectual patterns claimed by some critics revealed, on a closer analysis, too many contradictions and ambiguities about the moral intention of Dickens. Those ambiguities could hardly be cleared by the standard dressing up of Dickens being 'Shakespearean' in his approach to life. For, in the more personal medium of the novel as Dickens handled it, he had often committed himself to social views in his criticisms and caricatures as Shakespeare had not. Excessively symbolic interpretations were similarly condemned as, for instance, by William Empson¹ (the one critic, surely, who would not ignore complex strata of significances).

In the process, one thing has been definitely achieved ; however baffling to analysis and clear exposition, the genius of Dickens has come to be accepted as indubitably of a high order. A branch of synthetic approach has now emerged, committed wholly to neither the purely symbolic, thematic, psychological-biographical, nor the historical-biographical methods of interpretation, though partaking of both².

Hard Times had always been a peripheral affair in the history of Dickens-Criticism. Only social reformers, beginning with Ruskin (*Unto This Last*), had something to say on it. Otherwise, right from the day of its publication, it had received only incidental mention by Macaulay, George Eliot, and others. Even after George Bernard Shaw's insistent persuasions, the novel continued to receive only occasional critical asides. Wilson and Orwell, pioneers in the revival of Dickens, did not have much to suggest by way of its appreciation. Flanked on either side by *Bleak House* and *Little Dorrit*—the novels that were accorded extensive eulogies—*Hard Times* continued to be felt as an uncomfortable affair. It can, therefore, be said to be a 'discovery' of F. R. Leavis who in a full length study of the novel suggested not only that it was a major novel of Dickens, but that it was the most mature. True, the claims made by Dr. Leavis on behalf of *Hard Times* have been convincingly proven by many critics as being excessive and undeserved. But his assertion, illuminating as an adjunct to his theory of the Great Tradition, has successfully incited an extraordinary extent of critical scrutiny on the novel. However, in spite of all the numerous discussions made on it during the last three decades, it remains still vitally open to critical assessments.

Most of those who have presented practical criticisms of the novel have paid considerable attention to its first chapter. The first chapters in the later novels of Dickens being especially important as artistic introductions to the deepest significances contained in them, it is profitable to compare the opening chapter of *Hard Times* with those of the two novels which preceded and followed it—*Bleak House* and *Little Dorrit*.

The three introductions are similar in their rhetorical quality. The same technique of repetition is made use of in order to provide poetic as well as

comic emphasis. But, whereas both in *Bleak House* and *Little Dorrit* the repetitions build up a profound and extended background, those in *Hard Times* increasingly lead on to a specifically delimited focal point. This is not to say that the opening of *Hard Times* is weaker. Rather it is intense and deeply searching, for the special purposes it is meant to serve.

Another difference is that while the other two introductions keep up a continuous tension between things vitally alive and the oppressive burden on them of things drab and lifeless, the opening of *Hard Times* builds no such contrast. No image of the blue seas and the vines haunts the picture. Here there is a more severe concentration upon the investigation into a certain phenomenon, the rigorous defining of an intellectual attitude. Therefore, the rhetoric has no opulence, no quality of the sensuous or poetic about it. It is interesting to note how almost the same kind of an image from the world of vegetation moves away towards effecting a totally reverse kind of impact here. In *Little Dorrit* the vines 'drooping under their load of grapes' and 'Occasionally wink(ing) a little', emphasizing the monotony and dryness all around, also suggest the indestructible, elemental presence of life amid the vast waste and desolation. *Hard Times*, too, uses an image from nature—'the speaker's hair, which bristled on the skirts of his bald head, a plantation of firs to keep the wind from its shining surface'. But here the evocation of nature helps to emphasize, on the one hand, the grotesquely comic physiognomy of the speaker, and on the other, the impossibility of any tender thing surviving in the vast waste-land of the speaker's mind.

Coming to the protagonists of *Bleak House* (the Lord Chancellor) and *Hard Times* (Gradgrind), they are both introduced in the opening chapters as monstrous representatives—the one of a social system, and the other of a system of thought. Whereas the extensively poetic treatment of the background creates the impact of presenting the Lord Chancellor as a sorry emblem and a puppet, the 'plain, bare and monotonous' background serves to give to 'Thomas Gradgrind, Sir' a gigantic reality. The Lord Chancellor, presiding deity in the forbidding gloom, is shown to be in some sense himself only an instrument—his personality, by itself, may have no terrors³; Thomas Gradgrind, on the other hand, is presented in his stark individuality—imposing and ruthless. The images of a 'Cannon' and a 'galvanizing apparatus' that follows⁴ only enhance this impact of a terrifying personality—and that, not only to the poor 'vessels' ranged before him as targets. Paradoxically enough, the greater emphasis upon the lifeless, bare quality about Gradgrind invests him with more of the evil of life than the poetic-ironical descriptions do for the Lord Chancellor, who becomes the picture of a puppet, though of colossal proportions.

Each of the opening chapters powerfully suggests the theme of death-in-life. But the deadness of it is more unremittingly emphasized in *Hard Times*. The techniques of repetition and of ironical evocation of nature are thus harnessed here to a distinctly different end. Dickens is deliberately sub-

stituting the technique of poetic-satire of the other two novels with the technique of grotesque caricature here—something that reminds us of the technique of *Gulliver's Travels*. The ever-present note of sympathy, which makes even a Chadband (created through an identical device of repetition), Mrs. Jellyby, or Mrs. Pardiggle—to name a few from only *Bleak House*—tolerated, is here thoroughly withdrawn. Gradgrind is pictured as a lifeless machine that blindly (though in its own style, it is clear-sighted and eternally awake) and savagely grinds on, untouched by Nature or humanity. This picture is as intense and disturbing as the other two pictures ; one may, indeed, add with Leavis—even more so to an 'adult' perception.

As outlined by the introductions, the three novels, thereafter, proceed along separate tracks, *Hard Times* keeping to its precise and sharp edge. Dickens was here condemning a system, or some inter-connected systems which are ultimately more awful and distressing than the ones he held up for comic ridicule, sentimental chastening, or bitter declamation, in his other novels. It was not only about certain social, political, and economic arrangements ; it also went down to the roots of a certain philosophy of life and of society. Dickens's statement about the idea of this novel taking him 'by the throat, in a very violent manner' has to be understood in this context of his feeling inspired to tackle a deep and overwhelmingly bitter theme.

To this profound sense of outrage Dickens wished to give a faultless and neat artistic structure. That he took up the novel at a time when he felt sorely in need of a period of respite, and that the intention was to boost the declining sales of *Household Words*, do not diminish a whit the importance of the profound inspiration which went into the creation of the novel. For all the rigours of weekly serialisation, *Hard Times* had not been just casually and carelessly hustled through. That is quite evident from the unmistakable control Dickens is exerting upon his usual ebullience in the early sections of the novel. The argument of the weariness of Dickens at this period cannot, therefore, be used either as an excuse or as an allegation. If that were so, *Little Dorrit*, which came out immediately after, should have been the poorer for it. And, after all, more successful novels of Dickens like *Great Expectations* or *A Tale of Two Cities* also had been published in weekly numbers. The close-knit, carefully planned construction of the novel is evident from the titles of its different sections and chapters. The manner in which the early part of the novel often foreshadows significant moments in the later sections—as, for example, 'The Loophole' (Bk. I, Ch. III) with superb dramatic irony finds a distant reverberation in 'Whelp-hunting' (Bk. III, Ch. VII) ; the neat style of wedging into each other the three major plots in the novel ; the very unusual compactness of the volume ; Dickens's visit to Preston for collection of authentic material for the book ; a host of such facts are there to indicate that very deliberate and careful craftsmanship has gone into the preparation of the novel^o.

If, therefore, its ultimate success is far below the expectations the novel raises in the beginning, the reason must be sought in the artistic ordering itself and in no external source. The majority-verdict has been that the novel, measured against *Bleak House*, *Great Expectations*, or *Little Dorrit*, is no great success. In spite of Leavis, Edgar Johnson, and Hillis Miller, the readers and critics of Dickens find *Hard Times* only indifferently successful. A glance through any of the representative modern critical compilations—as, for instance, *Twentieth-Century Interpretations*, *Modern Judgements*, *Dickens and the Twentieth-Century*—would show how the general attitude is almost summed up when Angus Wilson says in his *Charles Dickens : A Haunting* : “I suggest that those of us who feed regularly on Dickens are too prone to an indigestible diet ; but we do know from experience what is one of his feasts and what, merely a menu card. *Hard Times* is a menu.”

But, then, if there has been some kind of a majority-opinion on the impact of the novel as a whole, no such broad agreement exists on the diagnosis of its limitations. That the novel is, basically, about the confrontation between a mechanical philosophy of life and life itself was widely recognized only after the study of Leavis. (And it seems to have taken still more time for critics to appreciate that the vexing problems of marital life forms one of the central themes of the novel). Earlier, the novel was mostly discussed for its revolutionary content—industrialisation, trade-union movement, utilitarianism in its political and economic aspects. In the process, both conservatives and radicals discovered various uncomfortable spots in the novel. *Hard Times* suffered, because Dickens was found to be too much or too little of a radical.

Humphrey House, like Macaulay, finds Dickens deficient in the critical understanding of utilitarianism : “Dickens was caught with the idea of a man living by a certain philosophy. . . . but he did not understand enough of any philosophy even to be able to guy it successfully.” And this, according to him, is the cause of the weakness of the novel. Similarly, Edgar Johnson locates one of the major weaknesses of the novel in the . . . ‘caricature of Slackbridge and his (Dickens’s) portrayal of that noble but dismal representative of the labouring classes, Stephen Blackpool’. Dickens’s letters to Henry Cole⁷ and to Charles Bright⁸ are quoted to make out that he was only trying to criticise a certain evil practice of utilitarianism, not the basic philosophy of it. Finally, it is said that Dickens had accepted the realities of industrialisation around himself, and hence the condemnation lacks force.

The allegation that Dickens did not thoroughly understand utilitarianism or the Union-machinery, and that Slackbridge and Stephen are hardly correct representations, have been discussed at some length and reputed by Paul Edward Gray. The novelist creates a certain frame, and in it a certain human situation. If the human situation is convincing, one is not entitled

to demand why the frame was not more or less extended. In the character of Gradgrind, Dickens, far ahead of his age, created a man trying to live in accordance with a certain economic, political, or philosophical idea, as he understands it. To question Dickens about Gradgrind's approach is unfair. That he has a definite relevance to the milieu of Dickens only adds force to his power as a character. His portrayal in Bk. I is superb; and if later on in the novel he is found to be disappointing, it is for other reasons than Dickens's poor understanding of utilitarianism. Similarly, Slackbridge is a character in a certain fictional context. To demand of him greater dignity would be as fantastic as asking of Chadband more clergy-man-like humility and restraint.

Making extensive use of Dickens's letters to condemn something in the novel is also not proper. The basic distinction between the man who converses and the artist who creates has always to be understood and maintained, particularly in respect of the 'repressed' Victorians. Dickens's happy acceptance of the industries (as made out of his Birmingham speech, some of his letters, and finally, the article 'On Strike' in *Household Words*), therefore, need not go to prove that he was working against the grain in *Hard Times*.

Finally, it is alleged that since Dickens had no viable alternatives to offer, his condemnation of the philosophy of Coketown, or of the Gradgrind-School in particular, lacked force. Such an argument, carried to its logical conclusion, would only mean that a novelist has first to be an economist or a scientist before he is allowed to deal with economic or scientific things in his works. And, if *Hard Times* fails because of that, what alternatives does Dickens provide in his admittedly more successful novels? Very much as no practical suggestions to improve the Chancery or the Circumlocution office are offered, so also here the problem of the conflict between industrial magnates and workers, or between the union and the individual, remains unresolved. Why should it, then, become so much of a flaw in *Hard Times*?

Not an alternative system, but alternative set of values and emotions making life richer and the society happier—this is what the novelist has to indicate through his work. Leavis suggested that, in the character of Sleary, Dickens effectively indicates the richer possibilities of life. But, far from being a successfully antithetical proposition to Bounderby and Gradgrind, Sleary is only poor sentimental stuff. In Bk. I, Ch. VI, when Sleary and his company are first introduced to the reader, the main emphasis is on his comic aspects—one eye ('of philosophy') fixed, and the other rolling; asthmatic intonations; the state of being never completely drunk, yet never quite sober, etc. The comic portraiture is effective, and carries conviction. The goodness or vitality that is shown about him is of a very casual order, it is rather Mr. E. W. B. Childers, who is presented as a more powerful personality. Sleary's character, more properly speaking, goes to indicate a kind of latent goodness that is to be often found among common people with all their dissatisfaction

and disease—a favourite element of characterization in Dickens—rather than the 'vital life' as contrasted to Gradgrind's 'mechanised existence'. Another element is also visible in his characterization here—Dickens is obviously straining for an effect through him.

Indeed, Dickens strains for effect through the whole lot of his characters. Such mechanical straining after some easy theatrical effect comes out most disconcertingly in Sissy's lamentations after she realises that her father has run away from her (for reasons rather mysterious to many besides Bounderby) :

"O my dear father, my good kind father, where are you gone ? You are gone to try to do me some good, I know ! you are gone away for my sake, I am sure. And how miserable and helpless you will be without me, poor, poor father, until you come back" ! It was so pathetic to hear her saying many things of this kind, with her face turned upward, and her arms stretched out as if she were trying to stop his departed shadow and embrace it, that no one spoke a word. (Bk. I, Ch. VI).

After this scene Sleary is next presented to the reader towards the end of the book, after a gap of several years. And, since, now he is not felt to be signifying richer alternatives, in poorer circumstances, to Bounderby and Gradgrind, one is not prepared in his next introduction for the fund of wisdom and rich human understanding he is intended to carry there. In Bk. III, Ch. VII and VIII, apart from making him an interesting part of a thriller-story, Dickens is also attempting to capture through this humble character a note of Wordsworthian sublimity. It is this attempt which Dr. Leavis mis-reads for its actual presence and conceives Sleary to be 'profound' and gifted with 'genius'. A. D. J. Cockshut rightly brings in the Fool of 'Lear' and Myshkin of Dostoevsky for comparison to show how futile such an interpretation is.

Hard Times has many such instances where great emotive expectations are raised only to end in failure and disappointment. Thus the effort at imparting to Stephen's death an impact of a profound Tragedy fails. Thus, again, the conclusion of *The Whelp* (Bk. II, Ch. III), far from intensifying the dramatic significance of this beautifully worked out chapter, only makes it bathetic :

'The whelp went home, and went to bed. If he had any sense of what he had done that night, and had been less of a whelp and more of a brother, he might have turned short on the road, might have gone down to the ill-smelling river that was dyed black, might have gone to bed in it for good and all, and have curtained his head for ever with its filthy waters.'

And what is this terrible Cain's betrayal ? Tom has simply given confirmation to what James Harthouse has already guessed (as possibly any visitor to the Bounderbys could have easily done) that Louisa has some deep attachment for the 'whelp', and none at all for her husband. Obviously, then, the conclusion is to dramatically suggest the dangerous events to which

Tom's communications would lead. But Tom's communication, by itself, actually leads to nothing.

Theatrical and sentimental matter are ubiquitous in the novels of Dickens. But whereas elsewhere they often succeed in imparting poetic intensity to the tale, here in *Hard Times* they repeatedly create an impact of bathos, and therefore, the mechanical manner of driving the moral home towards the end of the book as properly constituting the 'Moral fable' does not carry conviction.

Right from the outset Dickens has established the tone of satire and grotesque caricature. The characters are intellectually, rather than sentimentally, constructed. Everything about the novel is ostentatiously contrived. Even the titles of Sowing, Reaping, and Harvesting, are not meant to project an image of growing, prospering life, but, through subtle irony, to emphasize the woodenness of the main protagonists. The casual beginnings of some of the chapters—'Let us strike the key-note' or 'Not being Mrs. Grundy, who was Mr. Bounderby' ? etc.—go to reinforce the essential fact that the novel is not one of those standard projections of 'life', but an intellectually controlled satirical composition. Thus, to begin with, the mechanical quality of the characters and of the situations, and the overall contrivances, far from being droll, are actually points of strength about the novel. It is a piece of grotesquely comic dramatization, and, as such, forceful. But this mechanical dressing up becomes a tiresome affair once Dickens runs counter to the design, and throws the whole thing off its balance by trying to give it a 'tragic' rendering. In trying to chasten Gradgrind, and in thus trying to emphasize the moral, Dickens loses the game. The unredeemed Bounderby is a more powerful instrument to derive the moral home. Dickens, in trying to operate through a tragic mode, transforms the glorious construction of Book I into something cheap and mechanical.

In writing *Hard Times* Dickens confabulated two genres—the tragic and the comic (Jonsonian) and thus it is that the novel has failed to reach the heights. In his other novels, the structure had been dictated by a 'poetic', not a 'comic' vision. And, therefore, even excesses of sentimentality often accentuated the impact there. The death of Jo (*Bleak House*) and that of Stephen Blackpool (*Hard Times*) are comparable in this context. Both the pictures are sentimental ; both are meant to serve as indictments upon certain socio-economic arrangements. Both make use of similar techniques. And yet, the impacts are altogether different.

Dickens presents the picture of Jo sinking into death by the aid of some starkly theatrical means, and builds up a mounting excitement in the reader till at the climax it becomes almost unbearable. The final indictment, therefore, achieves a supreme dramatic impact—'Dead, your Majesty. Dead, my lords and gentlemen. Dead, Men and Women, born with Heavenly compassion in your hearts. And dying thus around us everyday'. One by one, as it were, the lamps on the stage had been put out, and now with

this choral statement, the curtain goes down upon a tremendously moving scene. In the case of Blackpool, on the other hand, inspite of greater use of poetic devices (*The Starlight*) and inspite of direct references to the killing nature of industrialisation ('when it were in work, it killed without need ; when 'tis let alone, it kills wi'out need'), his end achieves poignancy neither as the death of an individual nor as a tragic symbol of something rotten in the society. The reference, as in the case of Jo's death, is made to the Saviour. But even the evocation of Christianity does not add any intensity to the description here, and what we have is only a formalised, bathetic close :

'They carried him very gently along the fields, and down the lanes, and over the wide landscape ; Rachael always holding the hand in hers. Very few whispers broke the mournful silence. It was soon a funeral procession. The star had shown him where to find the God of the poor ; and through humility, and sorrow, and forgiveness he had gone to his Redeemer's rest'.

Even the death of Mrs. Gradgrind—a supernumerary character—is much more effective than this by being in line with the artistic ordering of the whole.

Far from taking us nearer to a 'Lawrentian' view of life, Book III of the novel actually sacrifices its moral earnestness by falsifying the consistency of the artistic design so well preserved through Book I. Towards the end of the novel Dickens is clearly attempting to give many kinds of entertainment ; among them, that of a detective-story, which is most disquietingly revealed in the concluding lines of "Found" : "Another night. Another day and night. No Stephen Blackpool. Where was the man, and why did he not come back ?"

And then, of course, there is the tedious description of the 'whelp'-hunt and his being safely shipped off abroad.

Through the author's partiality for sentimentality and thrills, *Hard Times* is weakened a great deal. An indication of this weakening is the gradual decline in the vitality of almost all the major characters in it, except for that psychologically superb creation, Bounderby. Two situations—that of Loo and Tom peeping through a loophole, and Bitzer chasing after Sissy—that are presented in Book I with telling effect, indicate the better way Dickens could have driven his moral home. After all, the moral purpose of a novel is to move the readers, and not each of the characters in the novel, towards a better life. But Dickens sat down to reform Gradgrind and in thus being concerned about the moral health of the character, he has sacrificed the moral health of the novel as a whole. In one of his usual 'sentimental' novels it would have come off again. *Bleak House* goes in for sentimentality and detective-thrills to a much greater degree and succeeds with these tools. But in *Hard Times*, under the pattern of a satirical, critical comedy, such things were bound to fail. It is thus that the dramatic interchange between

Louisa and her father in 'A Loophole' (Bk. I, Ch. III) and, again, the superb dialogues between the two over Bounderby's proposal for marriage, are psychologically more consistent than the melodramatic confrontation between the father and the daughter towards the end of the novel. Louisa is an orator there ; and Gradgrind, hardly anything at all.

The beautifully worked out theme of attempted-seduction goes tame with this turn of the novel towards creating a nemesis for Gradgrind. In the process, again, one of the most effective creations of the novel, Mrs. Sparsit, is made to think and act in a psychologically inconsistent manner, thereby weakening her over-all impact in the novel. Mrs. Sparsit is a valuable corner-stone of the structure of high caricature in Book I—her 'Roman', 'Coriolanian' nose, her fastidiousness and her ridiculous aristocracy, are all presented in the vein of rich caricature. The best thing that Dickens elicits from her in the later sections is her subtle manner of driving Bounderby and Louisa further and further apart by acting upon the susceptibilities of Bounderby—all in the high Comedy-of-Manners tradition. But the kind of bustle and passion she is given in Book III, the terrifying harpy she is made out to be, are all out-of-keeping with her character. Miss Havisham (*Great Expectations*) with her jealousy, her obstinacy and fantasy, is perfectly well acceptable in her room where time has stopped ; in the garden below she would be a travesty. The picture of Mrs. Sparsit, going through brambles and creepers, wet through and through, in her detective mission, might be an interesting specimen of a comic and pathetic sight blended together ; as a study of feminine determination, resulting from the passion of jealousy, it might be quite arresting ; but its vigour as a powerful picture in isolation does not mitigate the fault of disrupting through her changed presentation the tone of the novel as a whole.

Apart from Bounderby, the only other major character who retains some consistency is James Harthouse. But in driving the novel through his agency towards a sensational close, Dickens renders both Tom and Louisa rather unnatural. The conduct of the brother and the sister in Book III is hardly convincing. Louisa's blind love for Tom, the casualness of Tom and his ire against her, are necessary characterizations to support the theme of Tom's degeneration so as to give ascendancy to James ; but once the sensual 'fire bursts out' of Louisa, the whole of this brother-and-sister episode seems to have been exaggerated. The lie is thus given to the initial artistic ordering. Had the design been that of sentimental narration of a sensational story, these too would have become richly effective, as so often they are in Dickens. But on the basis of the pattern of Book I, such sentimentality could not thrive. The escapade of Tom, Sleary's narration of the return of the dog Merrylegs, Tom's heartlessness, Louisa's forgiving love, Sissy's sense of duty and self-sacrifice, each one of these is potentially a powerful instrument for Dickens. But, somehow, their effect is minimal. Very much like the blueprint of a novel that the last chapter 'Final' is, (inexcusable even as an

epilogue to a 'moral fable'), all these only enhance the feel of things mechanically contrived.

The story of Stephen and Rachael fails to move for the same reason. They were wrong stuff to put into the mould of *Hard Times*. And hence, 'Tis a muddle' is more a mannerism of speech than an indication, through the agency of an innocent creature, of a profound sense of confusion regarding man in an industrialised society, and more generally still, of man in the universe. A similar reiteration of 'Tis puzzlin' in the mouth of George Eliot's miller (*A Mill on the Floss*) has a much more profoundly organised significance.

Ben Jonson in *The Alchemist* was trying to grapple with such a complex of economic-philosophical problems. Having chosen the rigorous pattern of critical comedy, however, he stuck to the satirical discipline. This discipline of the plot, of characterization, and of rhetoric therein strikes off a powerful picture of greed and gullibility, and the moral issues forth on its own, without Mammon changing into an ascetic and Druggier representing 'Lawrentian Views' of life. Dickens took up in *Hard Times*—very correctly—the genre of satirical comedy, but did not have the necessary artistic consistency to produce out of it one of the greatest of 'critical' novels. *Hard Times*,—indisputably, a great endeavour—is, therefore, a failure.

NOTES

1. 'I think, indeed, that the history of literary controversy, especially about Dickens, has led to a rather comical false distinction.... Scholarly critics at last spoke up in favour of Dickens, after such different authors as Ibsen and Mallarmé had been praised for some kind of symbolism; they felt, no doubt, that the great reputation of Dickens on the continent must be a warning sign that previous English critics had been wrong in disagreeing with the English people about him, so they began finding he was full of symbolism....'

—William Empson (*The Symbolism of Dickens*).

2. In furnishing sober correctives to some of the purely 'Freadian' analysis of Dickens's novels, the attempts of Humphrey House, Kathleen Tillotson and John Butt, and others, fixing Dickens to his milieu and to his working-table, have been salutary. This kind of emphasis upon 'historical, biographical consciousness', however, brings in many more questions regarding Dickens's social and political insights. An interesting aspect of these revaluations is the way a good many older critical tools, new-sharpened, are being brought into use. Along with the symbolic devices, analysis is made of the rhetorical devices of Dickens—as, for example, David Lodge does. *The Dickens Theatre* by Garis, similarly, presents the 'theatrical' and 'melodramatic' stuff in Dickens—things that have received much rough treatment—as richly artistic. The presence of an older approach may not always be so explicit, yet they continue to haunt more critics than Angus Wilson, himself a practising novelist. (See *Charles Dickens: A Haunting* and *The Heroes and Heroines of Dickens*—Angus Wilson).

3. In fact, later, while he converses with the wards of Jarndyce in his chamber, the Lord Chancellor is presented as an amiable kind of person who understands, and even sympathizes with, the young creatures.
4. 'Indeed, as he eagerly sparkled at them from the cellarage before mentioned, he seemed a kind of cannon loaded to the muzzle with facts, and prepared to blow them clean out of the regions of childhood at one discharge. He seemed a galvanizing apparatus, too, charged with a grim mechanical substitute for the tender young imaginations that were to be stormed away'.
—“Murdering the Innocents” (*Bk. I, Ch. II, Hard Times*).
5. As, for instance, Earle Davis suggests. (*The Flint and The Flame : The Artistry of Charles Dickens*).
6. *C.f. Dickens at Work* by John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson.
7. Letter to Henry Cole, Secretary of the British Department of Science and Art : 'I often say to Mr. Gradgrind that there is reason and good intention in much that he does—but that he overdoes it. Perhaps by dint of his going his way and I going mine, we shall meet at last at some halfway house where there are flowers on the carpets and a little standing-room for Queen Mab's chariot among the steam Engines.' (June 17, 1854).
8. Letter to Charles Knight, Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge—'My satire is against those who see *figures and averages and nothing else*—the representatives of the wickedest and most enormous vice of this time..... But what have you to do with these ?'

STUDENT UNREST : A SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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(Received on 7 April 1971)

OF the many baffling problems that have challenged our country's administrators and thinkers, student unrest occupies an equally important place and has been a challenge to all thinking minds. A spirit of general unrest and turbulence pervades student community, and rowdy, aggressive and destructive behaviour by large sections of students has become a common phenomena in our country these days.

Some thinkers have attributed student unrest to the 'Zeitgeist' or the spirit of the times. The pace of life in the present age has become considerably fast. Scientific advances have helped to induce new desires, new hopes and new cravings in man. His aspiration level seems to be touching new heights. As a result, the modern youth is subjected to more and more frustrations, tensions and anxieties.

The causes of student unrest in our country are manifold and intricate ; but primarily socio-psychological in nature. Indian Society being in the process of transition itself, the youth in India today has to pass through critical conditions. The process of demoralisation set in motion by centuries long foreign rule has been aggravated by socio-economic distress. With about twenty two years of continuous self-rule, democracy in India has failed to usher in an era of peace and hope for the common man and the much proclaimed goal of socialism still seems to be distant. There has been a lot of development on the agricultural and industrial front but the achievements have not been able to catch up with the requirements of the people. Fast increasing population despite family planning measures, insufficient food production, rising prices, inflation, devaluation of rupee and various taxes imposed by the Government to meet the demands of growing economy have adversely affected the masses, or youth. Majority of our students suffer from a permanent feeling of economic insecurity. They live a hard life during their student days and have little hope for the future. A gloomy present and an uncertain future thus develops in many of them an attitude of bitterness, resentment and revolt.

Interviews with a cross-section of High School, College and Post-Graduate students revealed that getting job suited to one's aptitudes and aspirations is considered to be mostly a matter of chance. Only small percentage of students hold a bright and confident picture of their future career. It is also observed that students in general do not like to think of their future

career seriously and try to evade this vital question as it engenders anxiety. For instance, a large percentage of school-leaving students when asked, 'What do they intend to do after their high school.' Invariably replied 'Go to College'. Similarly College-leaving students when asked about their future vocation promptly answered 'join some Post-Graduate Course'. College life is thus not a preparation for any planned future career or vocation but a pastime to spend few more years leisurely and an escape from the grim realities of under-employment or un-employment.

An insidious erosion of values, ideals, norms and modes of behaviour can also be noticed on the social plane. A psychological frame of mind is being fostered in which success is evaluated in a worldly sense. Materialistic philosophy and pragmatism seems to invade the out-look of large number of students today. Faith in traditional, spiritual and moral values has been shaken. Loss of faith in traditional values which served as stable reference for guidance of behaviour to changed conditions has given rise to a sense of cynicism, avarice and rebellion among the youth. Devaluation of values and ideals is serious indeed and the student community being the most sensitive section of our society, it is among the students that the malaise is most acute.

Deeper analysis of the problem shows that unrest among students may be adequately conceived as a surface symptom of a hidden malady which seems to be pervading our entire social structure. Feelings of insecurity, distress and desperation loom large in our present social set up. Unrest among students or indisciplined behaviour on their part or any other section of society is but an outward manifestation of these underlying feelings. To some extent, indisciplined and rowdy behaviour can also be understood as an effort to call attention to one's individualism and egoism. Popularity of drainpipe trousers, bell-bottoms, pointed shoes, haystack hair styles, shirts of bright colours among the students are some louder manifestations of this tendency. Defiance of authority, disapproval of rules and regulations, real or imaginary manhandling of their fellow students indicates the same psychological need but of a more serious type. Due to situational pressures and mounting tensions, these expressions at times come to assume ugly forms leading to violent and aggressive activities.

Another factor contributing to agitational atmosphere in our college and universities and the cumulative sense of frustration that has developed among students, is the present system of education itself. Uninspiring methods of teaching, uninteresting curricula which has little relevance to the needs of our radically changing society, lack of closer contacts between the teacher and the taught, unavailability of proper guidance at needed moments and outdated methods of examination are bound to give rise to a peculiar sense of frustration and resentment. Study of the teaching methods being adopted in our educational institutions shows that the Indian College teacher has still to content himself with a piece of chalk and blackboard to

explain himself whereas audio-visual aids have become common in the west. It is further interesting to note that even if the institution has some audio-visual apparatus, the same is rarely used in the class-room by the teacher for instruction purposes.

Strong group loyalties and feelings of belongingness to peer groups also play an important role in spreading unrest among large sections of students. It is not rare to come across students agitations where the spark has been initially provided by humiliation or punishment to an individual student or some fellow student or students. The trouble may start over question of admission, University examinations, forced entry into some cultural programme, travelling without ticket, or an individual student's quarrel with the hostel warden, laboratory attendant, bus conductor or some shop-keeper. Insult of a fellow student is perceived as insult of the entire student community. Feelings and emotions flare up on the slightest pretext. The outcome may be smashing windows and even setting fire to public property. The peer group thus exerts a very strong influence on the college youth and group decisions, wise or un-wise, are mostly abided by. The college youth dares to defy his parents, teachers and elders but not the leaders of his peer group.

Awkward social status of the growing youth in our society and disparity between the ideals of the old and the young are some other factors to be considered. The college student is still an immature adult as perceived by his elders. The youth, however, feels himself to be sufficiently grown up. Sometimes due to different environments, the ways of thinking and modes of behaviour of the young are often out of tune with those of the old. However if the guardians of our society keep their minds open and adopt flexible approach to growing youth, much of the clash between the students and authorities would disappear.

The social leadership has also failed in its important task of restructuring the socio-cultural context conducive to healthy and balanced growth of the young by providing them with suitable goals of life. Political leadership has not cared to restrain itself from invading the academic field regardless of its intellectual or emotional competence to do so. Majority of the politicians today are pragmatists. They fail to refrain themselves from exploiting the sensitive minds of the youth to serve their ulterior ends. Indian parents on the other hand are mostly ignorant of their vital role in personality development and character formation of the children. Most of them adopt an 'Overprotective' or 'indulgent' attitude towards their children which interferes with proper social adjustment and self-reliant outlook to life.

The teacher also in general, are not properly equipped for the role they are expected to play in training the future citizens of a democratic society. It is obvious, therefore, that leadership at various levels in our present social set up mostly fails to provide desired psychological images with which the growing youth may identify himself.

Analysis of the above factors responsible for student unrest shows that the situation is quite serious and effective measures alone can help to reduce restlessness, the frustration among students and their socio-economic hardships cannot be overcome overnight, but still much can be done.

1. Greater emphasis on vocational orientation of education at various levels can brighten up future employment hopes of the students. Correlation of different stages of education to different types of potential employment in the country, coordination between production and absorption of trained personnel shall help much to reduce frustration and restore confidence.
2. Introduction of self-help programmes especially for Arts students can relieve boredom of academic work, provide them with a suitable pre-occupation and a greater sense of purpose.
3. Reformulation of syllabuses for certain courses at University level which meet the needs of the present society will help to make the learning situation more interesting and reality oriented.
4. The most drab and outdated methods of teaching also need to be replaced by new methods which lay greater stress on active participation and involvement of the student in class situation.
5. Immediate step be taken to introduce semester system in colleges at under-graduate level and supplement the present system of examination by objective tests and internal assessment of teachers.
6. Sympathetic guidance from well trained teachers and dedicated social workers/leaders who can fill the youth with inspiration, provide them with adequate goals of life, help them to inculcate healthy attitudes towards 'work' and 'life' and evolve modes of behaviour values and norms suited to the needs of our fast changing society. Training such teachers and social leaders may be a process in itself but eventually it is this which can solve the problem since the roots of indiscipline lie deep in our socio-cultural context, our homes and schools.

Truly democratic atmosphere in our educational institutions can help to develop a sense of responsibility initiative and self confidence among the students. The University student must be entitled to express his views and opinions about what happens in his psychological field. Expecting him to confine himself to studies alone is to overlook the fact that soon he will be stepping out as a responsible citizen and playing an important role in shaping the future of his country.

In short, a sympathetic humanistic approach to the problems and peculiar hardships of the present day youth, can ease the situation to a considerable extent, reduce frustration and restore confidence. In fact a new approach has to be found so that a free play can be given to the dynamic energy lying hidden in the budding youth of our country.

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BUSINESS BUDGETING AND APPRAISAL*

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BUDGET is a financial or quantitative interpretation prior to a defined time period, of a policy to be pursued for that period, to attain a given objective.¹ It implies a forecasting of the effects of each factor involved in the subject. Budget plans the future in a statement of policy, with an eye to the future changes. For a successful budget the future must be correctly forecast and incorporated in it. This will reduce the effects of unknown factors to a minimum. A budget, so becomes the management's policy statement, which in its turn is carried out in different departments like sales, finance etc. Unless the departmental activities are budgeted and controlled the budget as a whole will be wrong. Control refers to setting standards and comparison of the actual activities with this budgeted activities.

First of all let us see to the construction process of a budget. Because the basic principles hold good for all circumstances, irrespective of the type of business. One thing that may require attention is the flexibility in the planning. Because future events may differ in magnitude than the planned ones. So budget must comprehend this chance of variation. A comprehensive budget comprises of the following budgets :—

1. Planning or Forecast Budget or The Operating Budget which consists of—

(A) Budgeted income statement.

(i) Master budget, (ii) Quarterly budget, (iii) sales by division/product.

(B) Income statement supporting schedules of—

(i) Sales forecast like—

(a) Sales distribution by quarter or year.

(b) Production distribution by quarter or year.
and

(ii) Production Budget—

(a) Inventories, (b) Materials, (c) Purchases, (d) Direct labour, (e) Manufacturing expenses (Burden).

(i) Service, (ii) Product division.

(C) Administrative Expenses Budget.

(D) Distribution Expense Budget.

*In preparing the paper, I received valuable suggestions from my Principal Maj. B. K. Mohanty, Panchayat College, Bargarh (Sambalpur University).

¹ See. ICWA, London, An Introduction to Budgetary Control Standard Costing, 1968.

2. The Financial Budget consists of—
 - (a) Budgeted balance sheet.
 - (b) Balance sheet supporting schedules of—(i) Cost, (ii) Receivables, (iii) Capital additions, (iv) Depreciation, (v) others.
3. Appropriation type Budget consists of—
 - (a) Advertisement.
 - (b) Research.
 - (c) Others.

So the basic components of business budgeting may be put in nutshell as a triple pronged document of—

- (I) Variable Expense Budget.
- (II) Supplementary Statistics.
- (III) Budget reports to Management.

The Planning Budget itself is concerned with—

1. Operating—
 - (a) Revenues
 - (b) Expenses.
2. Financial.
3. Appropriation type Budgets.

Relation-ship of different budgets :—

The Planning Budget represents the overall plan of operations developed for the Company, covering a definite period of time, normally a year. It formalises the planning activities of management. As we have seen from the chart above, backbone of the operating budget and hence of the planning budget is (1) the Sales Forecast and (2) the Expense Budgets. The financial budget consists of the budgeted balance sheet and supporting schedules of cash, receivables and Capital additions, sub-budgets, which are the end result of the operating budget.

Therefore the preparation of general budget begins with sales forecast or sales budget by sales department. Advertisement and distribution expense budgets are tentatively developed as they affect sales potentials. As soon as the Sales Budget and the policy with respect of finished goods inventory are determined, it is possible to prepare the Production Budget, specifying quantity and timing of the production requirement. Then the sub-budgets for—(a) Direct Materials, (b) Direct Labour are prepared, and (c) manufacturing expenses budget can be developed. These respective budgets can be adjusted to the work-in-process inventory policies, resulting in the budgeted costs of goods manufactured, along with administrative financial and research costs, Capital additions and cash budgets. Further, these budgets may be summarised in the budgeted income statement and budgeted balance sheet.

The Plan of operations for a competitive firm must necessarily be built around the amount of activity or volume of business that can reasonably be expected during the specific period covered by the plan or unless the sales

budget is developed with reasonable accuracy, all the estimates in the operating and financial budgets will be misleading.

Internal capabilities may influence the sales budget and they must be considered by assessing—

1. Capacity of the plant for the economical operation.
2. Availability of personnel.
3. Adequacy of raw materials and supplies.
4. Availability of capital.

William H. Newman and Charles E. Summer Jr. add three more steps to make measurement tools, i.e., budgets more efficient. Those are—

1. Expressing in terms of money the results of plans, anticipated in a future period, figures will be typically set up in the same way as the accounts in a Company's accounting system. The budget should reflect how the accounts should look if present plans are carried out.
2. Then these estimates will be coordinated into a well-blanced programme. Figures for sales, production, advertising and other divisions must be matched to be sure that they are mutually consistent, the financial feasibility of all plans added together must be assured ; and the combined results be examined in terms of overall objectives.
3. Lastly actual results achieved will be compared with the programmed estimates that emerge from step 2. Any significant difference found will point to the need for corrective action. In short, the budget becomes standard for appraising operating results or in short for measuring performance.

Measurement :—"Measurement has always been an important factor in providing information to serve as the basis for solving business problems but the present methods of measurement in the business field frequently are inadequate".¹ Moreover, top executives exercise judgement on the basis of known facts rather than relying on techniques. Even in knowing facts they can be much helped by collection, analysis and interpretation of facts and for these purposes², good techniques are available. So measurement gains importance.

At present techniques available have some limitations as they lack in—

1. Fundamentals of measurement, which have never been clearly defined, even by scientists.
2. There are many aspects of business logic which rest on indefinable terms of unprovable propositions. So each problem may be viewed as brand new one, and thus "an experiment".

¹ Fundamentals of measurement, Paul Kircher, cited from *Advanced Management, Readings in Management* Ed. M. D. Richards & Neilander, P. 588.

² *Performance & Profitability*, M. J. Clay, & B. H. Walley, (Orient Longmans).

But there are many relationships which can be measured. For that certain objectives are clearly defined and the factors affecting the situation are actively measured, then decisions are made. They are compared and correlated with the results of the decisions. The structure of measurement process and its elements must be properly devised. The measuring method and the choice of the unit is difficult. Even Mathematics "the queen of the Sciences", fails to give 100% accuracy because, it is a logical process, whose object in the words of compete, "is the indirect measurement of magnitudes and it constantly proposed to determine certain magnitudes from others by means of the precise relations existing between them."

Some basic principles,¹ however are applicable to measurement of all kinds. They are embodied ;

1. in the scope of the project within the organisational components,
2. by formulation of common indices of performance, but not concerned with developing common standards,
3. to supplement judgment as basis for greater factual knowledge,
4. to be structured to appraise current results and the future projections to maintain a balance between immediate and long term objectives,
5. to keep to a minimum at each level of organisation structure.

In selecting factors to be measured, one should spot some of the key result areas. Key area is that where continued failure prevents the attainment of management responsibility for advancing Company as a leader via strong, competitive economy, even though results in other key result areas are good. Results in key area are measurable.

In every enterprise, regardless of its nature or size, there is need for measuring enterprise efforts and accomplishments.² Leonards sets two separate stages for obtaining results of progress in business i. e.,—

- (1) formulating sound standards for guidance,
- (2) adherence to standards through satisfactory performance and comparing results with standards.

Perhaps in no organisation is there full recognition of a complete system of standards for measuring and comparing performance. However management organisations particularly medium and large sized ones devise standards by adoption of forecasts and budgets ; organisation manuals and charts ; administrative policies ; Standard Practices ; quality control, operation procedures, Break-even Analysis, and Clerical forms etc. The different aspects measured are enlisted below.

¹ Measurement, Reporting and Appraising of operations with reference to Goals, Plans and Budgets—A case-study of Planning and Control at G. E. C., Robert W. Lewis.

² Measuring performance, the management audit ; an appraisal of management methods and performance, William Leonard, page 127, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.

Co-ordination—Measurement :

Measuring Element of Co-ordination has assumed great importance now. The problem in many organisations is that there is far less co-ordination among Executives and their departments than there is in the poorest of instrumental musical groups. Indices of some elements enumerated below are the results of Co-ordination which must be measured to assess the effectiveness.

- (i) Esprit de Corps, of personnel.
- (ii) Established methods, with standard principle of management,
- (iii) Ability for growth and survival of the firm, i. e., the economic outlook of the enterprise, business behaviour, with fluctuations in aggregate National Income, production and prices, changes in output and volume, new orders & inventions.

High Cost areas : over-heads ; analysis :

In operation of an organisation, the search is endless to improve methods and performance, to reduce cost and achieve greater efficiency. As a result, measurement may not be one in any two cases. In most organisations the search is generally extensive in high cost areas, cost of overheads in engineering works, distribution and services or in office cost. More people than ever before, are employed in the class of non-productive works, more than are employed in direct labour or productive works, especially when productivity of non-productive worker is not increasing to any degree with its productive counterparts, on the other hand, the salary bill has been increasing along with the upward spiral of wages for productive workers. The task of improving the situation for a reduction in cost becomes increasingly greater.

Decisions and Policy Measurement :

Some are of opinion that basic decisions for "Effective Policy and programme alone can be more significant for profitability than the chasing of efficiency and cost reduction ; but the matter is one of the relative roles.

Because management looks upon its managers to safeguard economy of operations so that the projected profitability inherent in the effective decisions is not fettered away through poor performance and excess cost.¹

Measuring Technological advance :

Under the present day industrial conditions there is a grave danger that progress will be measured, generally in terms of technological advancement. These technological advancements, however, can often be misleading because they may sometimes result in unprofitable operations.

Technique : Blanket Vs. Detailed Diagnosis :

There are various techniques of measurement, some use one general approach, but it obscures the vital principle that the greatest efforts should

¹ Performance and Profitability by Clay & Wallay, specially methods of measurement.
—Work Study Chapter.

be devoted to the greatest problems. So each department and each available technique should be subjected to application under present circumstances. However, the basic requirement is diagnosis i. e., work-study, as the crux of the problem is recognizing the problem itself. If this is at fault success would be the result of coincidence. The difficulty is accentuated because techniques of analysis and measurement abound, but systematic industrial diagnosis is an area that is still awaiting more penetrating development.¹

What to measure and why ? Growth :

All techniques of measurement aim at assessing quantum of success, the ultimate goal of business. Then what is successful business ? In this context, it is difficult to argue that one measure of success is better than another, because what we mean by success is ultimately subjective. I think, therefore, that the best measure of success is the longrun growth of the firm, the average percentage growth from one year to next year. Growth is, as expected, correlated with profits. It is difficult to achieve a high percentage rate of growth without a high percentage rate of profit on the capital employed. If the firm decides to plough back profits and not to go to the capital market, then of course high profits are necessary to finance growth, but equally if it has recourse to the Capital market a good rate of profit is necessary to obtain capital at satisfactory terms...profit is thus a creation of success, in competitive industry ; but it is not a sufficient creation in a monopolistic situation."²

Efficient utilisation of capital, and its measurement is gaining aided importance at present and in the future the increased utilisation of capital can be expected to make a greater contribution to national prosperity. On the other hand as fully automated and highly specific plant is introduced, which rigidly sets the cost of production for many years ahead, it will be essential to ensure that a high level of capacity utilisation is achieved if investment decisions are to prove sound.

Problems of Political Investment :

There will be one difficulty in mixed economies. That is how to separate the cost of politically inspired capital expenditure from normal commercial expenditure in case of public capital planning, purchase of home product, as for example : in preference to imports (import substitution).

Secondly, a nation possesses considerable capital resources derived from the education and innate ability of its working population, although the educational investment is conventionally ignored in computing the nation's capital.³

¹ *Ibid.*

² What is successful business ? By T. Barna, *The Manager* June, 1960. Cf. page 445, *The profitable use of capital in Industry*, I. C. W. A., London 1968 page 1.

³ G. Dean, *Journal of Royal Statistical Society*, March, 1968, "the stock of fixed capital in U. K. in 1961.

Sources and uses approach : This approach will solve the difficulties mentioned above to a great extent.

Generally the sources and uses of fund is found to be the most convenient tool for efficiency measurement. The sources are liabilities, reserves and share capital in Balance Sheet the Capital employed part. The uses are in fixed and current assets—Employment of Capital. The return on Capital is a guide to the efficiency of a Company's Management. It reflects the surplus remaining from a series of decisions often relating to a multitude of products and markets ; some good, some bad ; some contributing handsomely ; some having disastrous effects on a surplus. It may even be difficult at times to distinguish whether profits have arisen from good judgment or good fortune. So it is also an inadequate measurement.

It should be supplemented by the accountant's skills to analyse trends, compare results, look ahead to discern (results) changing patterns and devise other ratios and safeguards to measure more precisely the efficiency in different sector of the business and for different classes of capital. This is by far the best measurement available up-to-date. For that fact, it is probably true that the difference in the standard of living between Europe and Asia can largely be explained by the greater level of accumulated investment per head in Europe.¹

Return of Capital Employed is definitely a better measure than any other.

Among the success of business enterprise are expanding sales increased employment and production, respected name dollars of profit, acceptable products and services and many others. All of these are unquestionably desirable. Yet separately or together they are not enough to guarantee continued existence or growth. One other characteristic is needed, the ability to earn a satisfactory return on Capital employed.²

Increased sales volume is at least a short-term indication of successful growth and without additional information, must be viewed as such. Additional capital at a satisfactory rate of return is the final criterion of the soundness and strength of a Company's growth, because capital gravitates towards the more profitable Enterprise. The Company that is merely expanding at a declining rate of return on investment will eventually be brought to a stop for lack of expansion capital. We can measure it by compiling the usual operating income-statement with record of capital employed and rate of return on investment for each product line.

This view is corroborated by the President of Hewlett Packard Company. He said 'we believe tomorrow's success, is based on to-day's performance.'³

¹ The theory of economic growth, W. A. Lewis, Unwin Books, London.

² T. J. Mackenson, Cf. How H. J. Heinz manages its financial planning and control, A. M. A., Financial Management Series, No. 106, Newyork, 1953, Pp. 37-45.

³ Assuring the Company's Future, A. M. A., General Management Series, No. 175, 1955, P. 27.

NAYANTARA SAHGAL'S NOVELS

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I

AMONG the Indo-Anglian women novelists writing today, Nayantara Sahgal has a distinct place. Her five books published so far include three novels—*A Time to be Happy* (1958), *This time of Morning* (1965) and *Storm in Chandigarh* (1969). She shows great sensitiveness to the events happening around her and tries to understand them with an intelligent, alert mind. Her novels deal primarily with the political, historical and social changes that have affected India during the last days of freedom struggle, and all these years after independence. Politics, however, is the focal point of her novels. Political events provide the background of her novels and are interpreted as the sources which let loose a series of changes in the various areas of national and personal life. Her characters are deeply involved with political problems, and their responses to these issues give them life in the novels.

Her first novel, *A Time to be Happy*, deals with the last hectic years of the freedom struggle and the very first days after independence. This great political event not only changed the course of Indian history in a highly significant way, but also brought remarkable changes in the lives of the people. An obvious consequence of India's independence is the reversal of the positions of power among the Englishmen in India and the Indians. The Indians are the new '*Koi-hais*', and the Englishmen still in this country, in the interests of their business, have to adjust themselves to the new rulers, which is not an easy task. Weatherby experienced a tough time when he called on a Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce. The Sharanpur Club once meant exclusively for Englishmen, is now thrown open to all, and even the polo grounds in the club-premises are requisitioned for the purpose of holding an exhibition. The Chatterjees—Ronu and Lalita—once basking in the favour of the Britishers, make at least pretensions of harmonising themselves with the new conditions. The "Italian upholstery in the drawing room and the Venetian glass in the dining room" go, and the Chatterjees' Mansion is redone with handloom curtains and other indigenous things. Lalita, who had "sponsored charities in aid of the starving children of Belgian and war widows of Netherlands", now makes "this cottage industry thing a sort of crusade".

The main story of the novel centres round an intelligent and successful young man's development into maturity, which comes through his awareness and acceptance of new values. Sanad comes from a fabulously rich family, he has an English education which only makes him a "Carbon copy" of England and isolates him from the world of the common Indians. He takes up a good job with Shelkirk and Lowe, attends parties, makes love and marries Kusum. Kusum reads to him the patriotic poems of her brother Shahadev, who had died during the Quit India Movement. Sahadev's life, death, and his poems deeply impress him and make him conscious of values so far unknown to him. He is more and more conscious of the need of indentifying himself with the Indians, and, in the process of doing so, annoys his foreign employers. He is ready to quit, but things take a better turn, and his employers think it wise to allow him to live according to his convictions.

India's independence did not simply mean a change of power to Indian hands. "Basically it means foreign relations, to the extent that a mother country influences your foreign policy or tells you to do, you are not independent", says the Prime Minister to a group of young I. F. S. men in Mrs. Sahgal's second novel—*'This time of Morning'*. The I. F. S. men have to bring out the best in themselves in order to prove themselves adequate to the situation. "We are not experienced in diplomacy... We have had to build a foreign service from scratch", the P. M. says. Again and again in course of the novel Mrs. Sehgal speaks of the immense importance of India's foreign relations and stresses the need of developing a correct attitude to the world affairs. She deals with the muddled state of things in the Foreign Ministry. The men in charge of this vital department of the government are inefficient, corrupt, and irresponsible. The minister is Kalyan Sinha, who is intelligent and dedicated, but arrogant and irresponsible. He is ignorant of the Indian psychology and is contemptuous about learning it. His conduct in public affairs offends Indian taste. Ultimately he proves to be a liability to the government. There are officers like Rakesh, who joined the Indian Foreign Service in order to serve the country of their birth; there are others, senior men like Dhiraj who are constantly after getting a European posting, and both these types do no useful work. Some officers damage the system; others are damaged by the system. There are plenty of girls in the novel, who squeal, make love, attend parties, and purchase saris—Nita, Rashmi, Saira, Binny and the sexy Uma, who can be best painted as a "woman with three breasts and one eye".

Affairs at home are even worse. There are people like Harimohan and Somnath in provincial governments, who turn the government machinery to a business organisation for their own petty benefits. When their interests clash, loyalties of party-men are disturbed, parties are divided and subdivided, and things fall apart. There are of course experienced, conscientious politicians, like Kailash and Abdul Rahman, but they are generally ineffective as the younger generation of politicians, without any discipline and dedication

to a worthy cause, does not understand their view of things and rejects them outright as "fossils". *This time of Morning* has an immediacy of impact because of the closeness of the facts in the novel to the truth.

Violence is the theme of Mrs. Sahgal's novel "*Storm in Chandigarh*". "Outbursts of brutal, calculated violence had become a feature in the cities. There are too many in the congestion and chaos who had nothing to lose by violence, too many others who sat inert and indifferent, their sap sucked dry, watching it mount and ebb like some great tidal wave, waiting for it to engulf them. Passively waiting, as they waited for the rains, for the harvests, for the births of unwanted children, for death. Violence had become routine and expected. It was given different names, indiscipline, unrest, disorder". This has become the predicament of a great country in the late sixties. *Storm in Chandigarh* is concerned with the violence that "lies very close to the surface in Punjab".

Punjab is in a state of tension as Punjab's Chief Minister Gyan Singh threatens a strike to force a political decision in his favour on Haryana and the Centre. The Union Home Minister sends Dubey on deputation to Chandigarh to discuss matters with the Chief Ministers of the two states and avert the crisis. Dubey finds Gyan Singh a tough man. Gyan Singh "means business" and "gets things done". He came from lowly surroundings, grew up without parental love, and lived a hard life. Now he is a man without scruples and is out to intimidate the common people and suppress his political opponents by sheer brute force. Pitted against this man is Haryana Chief Minister Harpal Singh, who is sober, large-hearted and gentlemanly. Such men do not, and he does not, make any impression, and he "gets put in the shade everytime in India of the late sixties", when "people talking about leadership mean strength. And there is one kind of strength that's understood here, Force, Authority. The other kinds are in the books."

There can be no common ground for types so opposed to each other. Gyan Singh is not prepared to consider the dangerous consequences of organising strikes for forcing one's decisions on others. He is not willing to think of the affairs of his person and state against the background of the interests of a big country.

Dubey looks helplessly on as things move to a catastrophic climax. Gyan Singh's strike threat becomes a reality. Dubey advises Harpal Singh to gear up his resources and face the strike. In the evening there is an attempt on Harpal's life. He is luckily saved, but badly injured. In the same evening, the radio announces the Union Home Minister's death, and Gyan Singh calls off the strike as a mark of respect to him.

Dubey's story is simple. In Chandigarh he finds fun in the company of Saroj, who has an unhappy married life. He finds in Saroj a highly responsive listener to his philosophy of life, and Saroj in turn finds the happiness she has never got with her husband Inder in Dubey's company. He impresses on Saroj the idea that there is a "yearning for freedom in everything

that lives", and Saroj's yearning for freedom is manifest in her insistence to talk to Dubey in the face of her husband's disapproval. Dubey drinks, attends parties, grants drinking licences and goes on "high-noon excursions" with Saroj. Dubey's affairs with Saroj attract the attention of the hostile press and Inder and Saroj are more separated than ever. Inder slaps Dubey in the face. After the strike is called off, Dubey is recalled to Delhi, rather hastily, and the Cabinet Secretary expresses his disapproval of Dubey's activities in Chandigarh. Dubey is frustrated and feels the absence of the Home Minister, who, he is convinced, could have understood him better.

II

An important aspect of Mrs. Sahgal's treatment of politics in her novels is her search for solutions of political problems. This search can be related to her deep involvement in the contemporary milieu and her concern for values. She has no interest in a value which is not relevant to the realities, however great her personal faith in that value may be. In this context, it is relevant to discuss the revaluation of Gandhism in her novels, which is made against the background of the changing political scenes at different times before and after independence. Though her own great faith in the redeeming powers of the Gandhian way remains steady throughout, she is not blind to the fact that Gandhism has failed in this country, and that this failure has been gradual.

In *A Time to be Happy* it is Sanad, not Sahan Bhair, whom the author holds up as her model. She places Sohan Bhai, a real follower of the Mahatma, only on the periphery of ordinary life and allows him to shine in the horizon far distant from the areas of common life. Sanad is just an ordinary man who successfully meets the challenges that confront him. He represents the balance that Mrs. Sahgal thinks useful. This balance is in the form of a compromise between the contradictory values of life.

But she gradually loses faith in compromises. There can be no compromise between Harimohan and Somnath on one hand and Kailash and Abdul Rahman on the other. Kailash is a Gandhian, Hari Mohan, a self-seeking politician and never the two shall meet. *This Time of Morning* highlights the challenges that Gandhism has to face in India. It has to face the challenge from rootless intellectuals like Kalyan Singh, and from corrupt people like Somnath. Though the novel ends with the fall of Kalyan, Somnath, and Hari Mohan and the rise of Kailash, there is no clear indication that this will endure.

Storm in Chandigarh shows Gandhism as a spent force. It is pitted against blind, brute force. The Gandhian Home Minister at the Centre is a clear failure in dealing with violence, and he knows it. People like Gyan Singh simply do not listen to reason. The author is clearly bewildered as she tries to carve out a solution. The only suggestion she gives is that one

must resist. The right-thinking minority has to resist. But the efficacy of this is never really tested in the novel.

The author's preoccupation with politics gives an impression to the reader that she considers politics as central to all departments of life in India. This attitude is understandable in view of the fact that in a newly independent and under-developed country politics really intervenes in all fields of life. But Mrs. Sahgal is not unaware of things outside politics. She discusses diverse subjects such as, Hinduism, the theory of 'Karma', India's traditions, the role of youth in independent India, the generation gap, art and literature, correct approaches to the study and teaching of history, problems of human happiness and sex in her novels. She has her own views on each one of these subjects. She is a talented thinker. Sometimes her ideas have a startling novelty. Here is a view on chastity.

"If chastity is so important and so well worth preserving...it would be easier to safeguard it by keeping men in seclusion, not women"... "The biological urge is supposed to be much stronger in men, so it is they who should be kept under restraint, and not allowed to roam free to indulge their appetites. The entire East might flourish under this sort of reversal of purdah."

Nayantara Sahgal is best served by a crisp, lucid style. The elegance of her prose is never lost when it has to bear the weight of her thoughts. There is admirable precision and power in her writing. English expressions come naturally to her, and she is one of those Indo-Anglian writers who could have used English alone for creative work.

III

Yet she is not a great novelist. Her greatest handicap is the lack of imagination. She cannot create powerful, credible situations in her novels which would transfigure her thoughts and ideas, and through which the potentialities of her characters would blossom forth into artistic clan. Dubey, for instance, is introduced as a man of great intellectual ability and courage, who is *the* answer to a problem. But nothing that he does in Chandigarh shows *this* Dubey. Kailash in "*This Time of Morning*" is said to belong to a "singularly fortunate generation...for whom ideals and actions had been happily wedded, and the goal achieved", but there is no situation in the novel which highlights this vital aspect of Kailash's life. Kalyan Sinha as a foreign minister does absolutely nothing to justify the bang with which Mrs. Sahgal brings him into her novel.

Another major handicap is her poor control of the novel form. *A Time to be Happy* is going to be Sanad's story, but the hero is clouded by the narrator who is a character in the novel. This character, which was intended to do what the chorus does in a Greek play, occupies the central place in the structure of novel, indicating the incapacity of the novelist to keep control

over her characters. Sanad never impresses and depends too much on the narrator. There are a number of superfluous characters like the narrator's mother, Ammaji, mother of Govind Narayan, Harish, Maya, Veena, and Vir Das. The novel would have been better served without the detailed accounts of the history of Professor Madam Sahai's class-room attainments. Mrs. Sahgal shows considerable improvement in her two later novels, but she still shows a tendency to digress at the slightest opportunity, introduce more characters than she can effectively handle within the scheme of a particular novel, and discuss her thoughts on various subjects at a length disproportionate in the context of a novel, giving an impression that she is more interested in expressing her views on several matters than in her plot and characters. Her characters are still sketchily drawn.

There is of course no denying the fact that she improves commendably. An art-work, *Storm in Chandigarh* is vastly superior to *A Time to be Happy*. Thus it is evident that this novelist has a great future. Even the three political novels she has published so far have assured her a distinct place among the Indo-Anglian women novelists, for the simple reason that none of them has so consistently and so authentically dealt with the political issues of our country in her novels as she has done.

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WORKS COMMITTEES : A STUDY OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND WORKING IN ORISSA

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(i) Establishment of 'industrial democracy' necessitates consultation between two parties, viz., Management and Labour. Works Committee is an important tool in this direction. Importance of Works Committees is very great for various reasons.

(ii) Constitution of Works Committee is statutory for certain establishments. Still then their growth in Orissa is unusually slow.

(iii) The working of these committees has not been successful because of indifferent attitude of both management and labour. Illiteracy of workers, lack of experience in committee work, delay and non-implementation of unanimous decisions, union rivalries, etc. are some of the important factors responsible for their slow growth and unsatisfactory working.

(iv) Hence the need for improving their working by eradicating the above defects.

".....consultation is a two-way road and that the more technical a process the greater is the need of management to secure collaboration based on knowledge and understanding."

C. H. NORTHCOTT

*in Personnel Management-Principles
and Practice (Pitman, 1960), P. 180.*

I

INTRODUCTION

THE establishment of industrial democracy presupposes consultation between employers and workers in the industrial undertakings. Consultation is an advisory process dealing with the matters of mutual interest. The machinery for consultation to promote better industrial relations is of two types, viz., Joint or Bipartite and Tripartite. The former one may take various forms such as Works Committees, Joint Production Committees, Joint Management Councils, etc. Joint consultation is needed at various levels as it is in the long run an educational process for both management and workmen. The importance of joint consultation for an industrially developing State like ours is without any dispute. For, there is a tremendous scope for reducing industrial tension and improving productivity through

this machinery. The principal object of joint consultation through Works Committees is to discuss day-to-day affairs in an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and friendship in the premises of the undertakings and “not as two contesting parties before a conciliator but as two friends with a view to settle and compose their differences amicably and quickly”.¹ Until problems such as working conditions, welfare, training, holidays, hours of work, etc., are dealt with satisfactorily at the initial stage they may result in a serious cause of industrial unrest. It is the Works Committees which provide the scope for such discussions in the individual establishments. It is necessary that the foundations of industrial peace must be laid by careful handling of day-to-day problems as and when they arise in industrial establishments. These committees are useful in the sense that they provide a training ground for the workers in understanding their responsibilities. Further, it is through such committees that the rank and file workers are given an opportunity to feel that a personal interest is being taken in them, as human beings and that they are regarded as intelligent and responsible people capable of giving suggestions for the betterment of the enterprise. Because of such usefulness, the works committees have been conceived by the First Five-Year Plan as an institution which is “key of the system of industrial relations”. Thereafter also the need for strengthening and promoting this institution has been emphasised in the labour policy statements in the successive Five-Year Plans. With this background the present paper makes an attempt at discussing the development and working of Works Committees in Orissa. At the end some suggestions for their smooth and satisfactory functioning have also been made.

II

DEVELOPMENT

Section 3(1) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 states that “in the case of any industrial establishment in which one hundred or more workmen are employed or have been employed on any day in the preceding twelve months, the appropriate Government may, by general or special order, require the employer to constitute in the prescribed manner a Works Committee consisting of representatives of employers and workmen engaged in the establishment”². The State Government through the Directorate of Labour have been persuading the eligible employers to constitute such committees for promoting better industrial relations and amity between the two parties. Thus the legal requirement and the encouragement given by the Governments both Central and State led to the setting up of Works Committees in a number of undertakings in the State.

Though statistical data for the early years are not available it is found that there were a few works committees in different industrial undertakings of the

State. The following table gives a picture of the development in the constitution of Works Committees in the industrial undertakings falling within the jurisdiction of State sphere.

TABLE
NUMBER OF WORKS COMMITTEES SINCE 1965

YEAR	COMMITTEES	
	Required to be formed.	Actually formed and functioning.
1	2	3
1965	107	23
1966	108	27
1967	99	27
1968	97	26
1969	89	29

Source :—Labour Commissioner, Orissa.

Even if the constitution of the works committees for certain undertakings is statutory, there has not been any phenomenal rise in their formation. The above table of course shows a rise in the number of works committees. But it is clear that the growth rate is very little. It can also be noticed from the table that the number of committees constituted so far is very small in comparison with the number of establishments required to constitute such committees. When represented by percentage it is seen that in 1967 and 1968 nearly 27% of the establishments required to form such committees had their works committees. But in 1969 the same has gone up to about 32%. As regards the establishments such as mines, ports, etc., falling within the Central sphere complete data are not available to have a full picture of their growth. But it is a fact that majority of the iron ore mines in Orissa employing 100 or more workers have formed their Works Committees.

The slow growth in the number of Works Committees is due to the fact that in establishments where unions were strong and representative in character, formation of works committees does not find favour. Some unions even regard such committees as rival bodies. On the other hand, the employers who do not like to discuss anything with the union of their workmen or do not want that their workers should form unions are indifferent

towards the constitution of such committees. Thus in short, the trade union leaders regard them as rival institutions deserving no encouragement, while the employers regard such committees as substitute for trade union leaders. The other causes responsible for slow growth will be more clear from the next section.

III

AN ASSESSMENT OF THEIR WORKING

Besides their slow growth, the committees that are existing at present in different undertakings in Orissa both under Central and State sphere are reported to have failed to realise the very purpose behind their constitution. Very few committees are functioning satisfactorily. Others are in pen and paper but actually do not function. The unsatisfactory working of these committees is due to various reasons. If these are removed then only the committees can function properly to achieve the real objectives of their constitution.

We have seen earlier that the trade unions functioning in the different establishments do not accept the proposal of constituting Works Committees. From the working results of the committees, it is found that the union leaders argue that since they are carrying on well with the management there is no necessity for works committees to be constituted. Because of such argument put forwarded by the union leaders a leading company viz., Indian Aluminium Company Limited, Hirakud Works where labour-management relations is very good, does not have a Works Committee as per the section 3(1) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

Another important factor responsible for their unsuccessful functioning is the illiteracy of the workers. Because of illiteracy the workers' representatives do not understand the provisions of the different labour enactments and also they fail to take active part in the discussions. This is the greatest impediment to the satisfactory functioning of the Works Committees that are existing particularly in the different iron ore mines of the State. Furthermore, the worker-representatives have little or no experience in the committee work. For all these handicaps they are unable to contribute anything substantial towards the formulation of sound decisions and it is also found that whatever decisions are taken, virtually are taken at the initiative of the management's representatives. And it is no wonder that the decisions are likely to go in their favour. The meetings are also not conducted in the proper manner and proper spirit.

Then again, the device of Works Committee is entirely consultative, its recommendations only suggestive and not binding. As a result the recommendations are usually ignored by the employers or much delay is caused. This non-implementation of the recommendations and decisions

has really made the workers apathetic towards the committees leading ultimately to their failure.

The National Commission on Labour has presented in their report very aptly the views expressed by the employers' association and unions for the failure of these committees. "The employers' associations have attributed the failure of works committees to factors like inter-union rivalries, union antipathy, and the attitude of members (Workers' wing) in trying to raise in the committee discussion on extraneous issues. According to the unions, conflict between union jurisdiction and the jurisdiction of the works committees and the unhelpful attitude of the employers have generally led to their failure."³

Thus we find that the unwillingness to part with certain prerogatives, non-implementation of decisions made by the committees, union's misunderstanding on the committee as a rival institution, illiteracy of the workers, lack of experience in the committee work, and so on are the important factors responsible for the unsatisfactory and inefficient working of the Works Committees as a device for Joint Consultation in Orissa.

IV

SUGGESTIONS

The usefulness of Works Committees and also other joint committees at the plant level to resolve mutual differences cannot be exaggerated in the context of the State Government's policy of rapid industrialisation of the economy of Orissa. Hence, the Works Committees as a means of consultation deserves the support of all : the trade unions, management and the Government not only in the interest of joint consultation as such but because it fosters responsibility and self-respect, independent thinking and the habit of resolving differences by trying to understand the mutual points of view. The Third Five-Year Plan has, therefore, recommended that "it is essential that Works Committees are strengthened and made an active agency for the democratic administration of labour matters."⁴

In the interest of the industries and economy of the State at large Works Committees should be allowed to play an important role in promoting better industrial relations. But generally speaking, the results achieved through these have been disappointing. And here the observation of the Royal Commission on Labour made in 1931 when the formation of works committees was not statutory and moreover it was beyond one's imagination in a completely undeveloped State like ours holds good. The Commission had observed, "if they are given proper encouragement and past errors are avoided, works committees can play a useful part in the Indian industrial system".⁵ With a view to remove the past errors and thereby making their working effective and successful a few suggestions may be made here for the

consideration of the workers, Government, and others interested in the promotion of better industrial relations not only in the State of Orissa but also in the country at large.

Publicity for the activities of the Work Committees, is a fundamental to its success. So it is necessary that the proceedings of the deliberations that take place in the meetings of the works committees should be circulated among all interested parties without any delay. Because the longer the delay in disseminating the same the more likely is the spread of distorted information around the factory. Moreover, the committee members should be made responsible for explaining the minutes to their members. This, it is believed, will surely give added importance to the activities of the committee. This follow-up to see that every one knows what is happening at the committee meetings is most essential because the works committee is a valuable form of communication both upwards and downwards.

In the second place, the employers and the workers should develop a desire to co-operate and they should instill in them a clear idea about the objectives of works committees. If such a desire is absent then no legislation can make the working of such committees effective and successful. It is a fact that "the law can force the representatives of workers and management to meet at regular intervals, but it cannot force them to arrive at an agreement".⁶ Therefore, it has been pointed out rightly, "co-operation between two bodies of men, differing in economic power, wealth and education, depends primarily as their ability and willingness to make contact at points of mutual concern."⁷

The works committees have failed to work satisfactorily due to lack of confidence of the employees in the decisions taken at their meetings. Hence, there is an imperative need to create confidence in them for which managements must take necessary steps. Because, "it is only when this confidence has been established that the works committees can effectively contribute towards sound relationships between management and employees. Then it becomes a real two-way channel of communication".⁸ The management should realise that consultation through works committees is an important tool in its hands which if used with care and skill can yield valuable results which are hard to achieve otherwise.

In the fourth place, the trade unions must be strengthened to enable the workers to discuss the matters on equal footing. The management should extend whole-hearted recognition to the union. For, union recognition is an important requisite for the success of unit level committees. Management should not think that some of their known prerogatives are being parted with. Unions on the other hand, should feel that management is not side tracking them by constituting a works committee. Besides educating the workers under the Worker's Education Scheme, the unions and employers should make sincere efforts to educate the workers so that they can play a better role in the functioning of works committees and other joint committees.

'One union in one industry' should be established since union rivalry is also a great hindrance to the effective working of the works committees.

The State Government through the Labour Directorate should institute periodical evaluation of their success or otherwise in the different industrial establishments, and defects and deficiencies should be overcome by suggesting suitable measures for the desired improvement.

Last but not least, the unanimous decisions of the committees should be honoured and implemented without any delay which is sure to go a long way to achieve a considerable amount of success in their working.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL INGREDIENTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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THE problem of economic development of developing countries has received world-wide attention since the second world war. With the conclusion of the last world-war most of these countries were decolonised by the western imperialist powers. Having achieved their political independence these countries have been striving hard to achieve a rapid rate of economic development within a short span of time and thereby to attain the economic self-sufficiency which is the essential condition of the maintenance of the national sovereignty. "The most important lesson about development which economists and members of other professions have learned is that underdevelopment, the poverty of nations, is not preordained and immutable. Economic development can be stimulated, brought in to being and sustained by deliberate action".¹ Thus, the government will have to play a positive and dynamic role in the context of the economic development.

The increase in the per capita real income has been widely accepted as the indicator of economic development. The report of the United Nations experts has accepted the per capita real income as the index of economic development.² Prof. W. A. Lewis agrees with the view that the economic development of a country consists in the "growth of output per head of population".³

Capital continues and will continue to be scarce for a long time in these developing countries and must be used to the best advantage possible. Thus "the so-called 'under-developed areas' as compared with the advanced are under-equipped with capital in relation to their population and natural resources."⁴ This scarcity of capital is mainly responsible for the malutilisation and under-utilisation of the available natural resources. These countries mainly specialise in the production of the raw-materials and food-stuff and are called the primary producing countries. Again, they get a large fraction of their national income from the export sector of the economy and thereby are susceptible to the transmission of trade-cycles from the overseas countries. In these poverty-ridden areas of the world, the rate of growth of population is very high and the population pyramid has a very broad-base. Thus, the economic surplus which is the essential precondition of economic development cannot be generated. A large percentage of the population are illiterate and they use the primitive techniques in the process of production. Hence, in these countries the road to development is paved

with the vicious circle of poverty. "It implies a circular constellation of forces tending to act and react upon one another in such a way as to keep a poor country in a state of poverty".⁵ Thus poverty breeds poverty and a man is poor because he is poor.

II

'Capital formation' is considered to be the most important ingredient of economic development. "The meaning of capital formation is that society does not apply the whole of its current productive activity to the needs and desires of immediate consumption but directs a part of it to the making of capital goods, tools and instruments, machines and transport facilities, plant and equipment—all the various forms of real capital that can greatly increase the efficacy of productive effort".⁶ The essence of the process, therefore, is the diversion of a part of country's currently available resources for increasing its real capital stock as distinct from the financial capital stock. The core of the problem is how to increase the rate of savings and investment. Hence, savings and investment are two determinants of economic development. "The central problem in the theory of economic growth is to understand the process by which a country is converted from being a 5 per cent to 12 per cent saver with all the changes in attitudes, in institutions, and in techniques which accompanies this conversion."⁷

The next pertinent question is how the volume of savings and investment can be raised to the desired level. In the developing countries the total volume of savings is very low which reflects people's low level of income. Moreover, in these countries people's marginal propensity to consume is generally high. Another constraint to the increase in the rate of saving is the "demonstration effect".

Ragnar Nurkse while analysing the problem of capital formation in under-developed countries has pointed out as to how a large number of them suffer from the problem of—"disguised unemployment". The disguised unemployment can be described as a state of affairs in which the withdrawal of some amount of labour force from the agricultural sector will not reduce the total agricultural output assuming the techniques of production remain the same. Thus, one can argue that the cost of employing such labour should be reckoned as zero. On the other hand, even if production is not reduced elsewhere, the employment of such labour normally increases consumption. Nurkse argues that if these disguisedly unemployed persons are engaged in producing the capital goods and they are fed by the persons who are still in the agricultural sector then the volume of savings of these countries can be increased. So, the disguised unemployment is a potential source of savings for the developing countries. Moreover, the governments of these countries should formulate the appropriate fiscal, monetary policies to accelerate the rate of savings.

The volume of investment in these countries is also very low which reflects the limited size of the market. Thus the poverty of the people discourages the application of capital in any single line of production. This impasse can be over-come by a synchronised application of capital in a number of complementary industries. "Thus, there are certain strategic, growth-oriented products and processes-products which have important 'linkage' effects encouraging other industries to come into existence to supply materials, components and fuel or to make use of the original industry's final products ; and processes which have, in addition to their technical efficiency, the future advantage of setting a pace or imposing a level of efficiency which aids and encourages management and labour to work more efficiently".⁸ The task is to find the projects with the greatest total linkage. The government should not be complacent with the increase in the quantum of investment, it must also look to the qualitative aspect of the problem. Moreover, in the initial stage of economic development the government must shoulder the responsibility of creating the social and economic over-head capital.

The second important ingredient of economic development is the entrepreneurship. The entrepreneur is the real person who initiates the process of economic development. He can be regarded as the king-pin of the process. The central figure in Schumpeter's analysis of development process is the entrepreneur. The entrepreneur introduces new goods, new methods of production, new organisation of any industry and he also discovers the new sources of raw-materials and markets. Thus, the entrepreneur is the leader of the process and it is the leadership rather than the ownership that matters. Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial initiative create capital which can be continuously ploughed back into the economy.

The third ingredient of economic development is the popular enthusiasm. If the people of the developing country are not very much enthusiastic about country's development, then nothing can be done in the development front. "The economic development of a country has much to do with its human endowments, social attitudes, political conditions and historical accidents, capital is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of progress."⁹ Popular enthusiasm must be created if development efforts were not to be frustrated. "Popular enthusiasm is both the lubricating oil of planning and the petrol of economic development, a dynamic force that makes almost everything possible."¹⁰ This is the reason as to why the government of the developing country should facilitate the growth of not only the material capital but also the human capital. "Development is largely a matter of the dynamism of individuals and of a local community. These can be supplied only by generating local, responsible initiative and multiplying human energies. Development, therefore, requires rapid growth of human talents and opportunities to employ them."¹¹

The fourth ingredient of economic development is the role of agriculture in the process of development. The economic development mainly depends on the contribution of the agricultural sector. This is the reason as to why Japanese Government levied stiff land tax in the initial stage of her development. This was also the case with Soviet Russia which introduced the collective farming to tap the agricultural surplus. In a densely populated under-developed country the agricultural development and the industrial development should be carried on simultaneously. But in a sparsely populated under-developed country the agricultural development must precede the industrial development to release the scarce labour force to be employed in the industrial sector of the economy. Generally as the economic development of the developing country proceeds, the citizens get increased income which reduces the marketable surplus of the agricultural product. Thus, the government should impose progressive land tax and the agricultural income tax to divert the agricultural surplus to the developmental front.

The fifth ingredient of economic development is the contribution of international trade to the development of present-day developing countries. Economists like Sir Dennis Robertson, Ragnar Nurkse, Haberler and Cairncross have analysed as to how foreign trade effects dynamic benefits and contributes positively to the development of these countries. Robertson observes that the foreign trade is the engine of economic growth. In other words, the trade transmits economic growth from the advanced to developing countries. The classical economists emphasised the allocative efficiency of production as an important consequence of the international trade. Haberler identifies the following dynamic benefits of trade accruing to poor countries, the provision of essential capital goods, raw and semi-finished materials; the dissemination of technological knowledge, the transmission of skills, managerial talent and entrepreneurship, the attraction of capital through international investment; and the stimulating effect of import competition. He takes the stand that free trade subject to some important qualifications is the best trade policy for the under-developed countries.

Nurkse is of the opinion that the trade confers a positive dynamic benefits to the poor countries but this is definitely less than what it was in the 19th century. He has analysed this altered conditions of foreign trade in this century in terms of the lagging world demand for the primary exports of the developing countries which is the result of factors as work in the developed importing countries such as the use of synthetic substitutes, low income elasticity of consumer demand for agricultural products and economies in the use of natural materials etc. Since, the export markets of the primary producers are limited, Nurkse favours balanced growth as the development strategy for the developing countries. Recently some economists have raised a fundamental question, whether the foreign trade promotes or retards the process of development. The foreign trade has played in the past, is playing at present and will continue to play in future the positive and dynamic

role in the process of economic development of these developing nations of the world. Thus, the "spread effects" of international trade is definitely more than its "backwash effects".

The sixth ingredient of economic development is the part played by the foreign capital in the process of development. "Capital investment from abroad is no longer the answer to the development. In fact, the heavy capital investment from abroad may become a barrier to development rather than a spur."¹² In the early stage of industrial development it will be advisable on the part of these countries to import capital goods and the technical know-how from the advanced countries of the world. It is true that the foreign aid facilitates the process of economic development but some economists have questioned the absorptive capacities of the developing countries. The foreign capital in these under-developed parts of the world has a long history, a record glowing with the pioneering efforts and great achievements combined with a hateful record of economic domination and political subjugation. Thus, while importing foreign capital from the advanced countries, these developing countries must see that no "strings" are attached to it. In recent years a number of international financial institutions have come into existence to finance the short-term and long-term foreign exchange requirements of different countries on loan basis.

Economic planning is the next ingredient of economic development. Economic planning can be defined as a system in which the governmental authorities manipulate the economic forces to achieve the desired goals. Recently almost all the countries of the world have adopted economic planning in some form or other. But the role of planning in the context of economic development is much more important than its role in the advanced countries. Through planning the government decides how much of different products is to be produced and on what principle it will be distributed among the citizens. Thus, planning plays a prominent role in allocating the limited available natural resources between the different industries. "Planning thus becomes the intellectual matrix of the entire modernisation ideology and economic development becomes human problem."¹³

"The obstacles to economic development in the developing countries are formidable and are rooted in the inefficiency, rigidity, and inequality of the established institutions and the attitudes and in the (existing) economic and social power relations."¹⁴ Political stability facilitates the process of development. Thus, the economic development of a country is preponderantly influenced by its economic and political institutions. In the initial stage of development the citizens of these countries must tighten their belts to expedite the development. At this stage, there shall be a conflict between the development and welfare measures. The welfare considerations should be given secondary importance, the development considerations being the first. Last but not the least, the industrially advanced nations of the world should take active parts in the industrialisation of developing

countries not merely for the humanitarian and political reasons but for economic reasons serving the benefits of both sides.

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ANCESTRY OF RAMAI DEVA

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RAMAI Deva, a scion of Chauhan family, founded the rule of his dynasty in the estate of Patna in Western Orissa about the year A. D. 1360. This petty estate soon rose to be a powerful kingdom comprising the whole of Western Orissa and a portion of Madhya Pradesh. The successors of Ramai Deva, in this part of Orissa, cleared off jungles, established a number of towns and provided them with strong fortifications. They built many palaces, erected hundreds of temples and excavated a large number of big tanks which commemorate their rule even at present. They promoted trade and commerce, encouraged the local industries, enriched literature and fine arts, sublimated the tribal life of the native people and added to the vigour and vitality of the society by introducing more of the Aryan elements into it. They respected and even accepted the dogmas and deities of aboriginal subjects and were thus able to win their love and loyalty. The rule of the Chauhans which lasted for about six hundred years¹ indeed marks a glorious epoch in the history and culture of Western Orissa. The people of this region today follow the same customs and traditions, speak one dialect and have the same way of life. This is no doubt because of the cumulative effect of the long and successful rule of the Chauhans over them.

The parentage of Ramai Deva, the founder of this remarkable dynasty in Western Orissa, is unfortunately still wrapped in mystery. Our earliest source regarding this is the Kosalananda Kavya written by a court-poet of Sambalpur, Gangadhara Misra, about the year A. D. 1660. This work states that after the defeat and death of Prithviraj, the last Hindu ruler of Delhi, a member of his family named Alhana Deva established his power at Garha-Sambhar where the Chauhans ruled for ten generations. The last of the line, Visala Deva, was killed in the battle by the Yavanas and his queen, who was at that time enceinte, fled with some followers to Patna in Orissa where she took refuge in the house of a Brahmin and there gave birth to a son whom she named Ramai or Rama Deva. When Ramai came of age, he became handsome and heroic, prudent and popular. Once he killed a ferocious white tiger by his axe and relieved the terror-stricken people who, out of gratitude, raised him to the throne which was at that time lying vacant². This story has been repeated in the *Jaya Chandrika* of Prahallad Dubey with some alterations here and there. The *Jaya Chandrika*, however, does not mention the ten kings after Prithviraja, but simply states that after the death of the great Chauhan, an enceinte princess of his family fled to

Patna where, in the house of Chakradhara Panigrahi, she gave birth to Ramai who later on destroyed the Mullick Oligarchy and declared himself the king of the territory³.

A different version of this tradition is found in the account of T. Motte who visited Samalpur in A. D. 1766. He narrates the story as follows.

"Sumbhulpoor was founded by Bulram Dakee of whom they relate the following history. About two centuries are past since a company of Hindus set out from the banks of the river Sommer in the Province of Azmir on a pilgrimage to the temple of Juggernaut. On their return the whole party was murdered except one woman who made her escape to Patna, a place thirty coss south from hence, at that time the capital of this part of the country. She supported herself with begging until her son grew up and shewed such a happy genius for learning and such dexterity at his exercises that the Rajah adopted him. When he succeeded, he built this place and made it his residence calling it Sumbhulpoor from the country of his father. Had his family come from the Sommer, he would have called it Sommerpoor, whereas I should think he came from Sumbhul, a large city in the Rohilla Country."⁴

T. Motte, no doubt, collected these informations from some unauthentic sources. It is not difficult to prove that he is wrong both in figure and fact. This incident could not have taken place "two centuries" before him as stated in his account and the place of the foundation of the Chauhan rule was not Sambalpur but Patna. It may further be pointed out that Sambalpur was the name of the place long before the coming of the Chauhans and it is not named after Sommer or Sumbhul as stated by Motte. Ptolemy has called it Sambalaka even as early as Second Century A. D.⁵ The story regarding the foundation of the Chauhan rule in Western Orissa as narrated by Motte has not been corroborated by any of the writers who wrote on the subject before or after him.

About a century after Motte, Major H. B. Impey, Deputy-Commissioner of Sambalpur attempted to present a systematic account about the Chauhans of Patna on the basis of records accessible to him. His account, preserved in the Record Room of the Collector of Sambalpur District, gives the following details about the foundation of Chauhan rule in Patna.

2. "The Muharajahs of Patna claim direct descent from a race of Rajput Rajahs of Gurh Sumbul near Mynpooree and count back the individuals of this race for 32 generations.

3. "It is narrated that these Rajahs used to be in constant attendance at the Court of Dilhee till the last, named Hutumbur Singh, who having intrigued and run off with one of the King's daughters, was pursued and killed and his family forced to fly. Amongst the wives of this Rajah was one, who, escaping, arrived enceinte, in Patna and found refuge with the chief of Kholagurh, being one of the 8 Gurhs as marginally noted, which at that time alone formed the territories of Patna, being comprised within the three rivers, Ung, Mahanuddy and Tel and bounded on the west by Khurriar (a possession

of Jeypoor) and Bindanawagurh ; and the chiefs of which took it in turn, a day at a time to exercise full authority, as Rajah over the whole. She was placed in charge of the said Chief's Brahmin at Rampoor and there gave birth to a boy named Ramaee Deo. The Chief adopted the boy and subsequently on his coming of age, himself being sick and weary of rule, resigned his position to him. Ramaee Deo, soon after this, succeeded in murdering the other seven chiefs and usurping to himself the whole and permanent authority in Patna. Finally he married a daughter of the ruler of Orissa through whose influence and power he was enabled to maintain his usurped position".⁶

Charles Grant, in the "Gazetteer of the Central Provinces" has supported this account of Impey. "The Maharajas of Patna" he writes, "claim direct descent from a race of Rajput Rajas of Garhsambar near Manipuri and trace it through thirtyone generations. It is alleged that Hitamber Singh, the last of these Rajas, offended the king of Delhi and was killed ; that his family had to abandon their country and fly in every direction ; and that one of his wives, who was at that time enceinte, found her way down to Patna which was, it seems, at that time represented by a cluster of eight Gurhs and the Chief of each Gurh took it in turn to rule for a day over the whole. The Chief of Kolagarh received the Rani kindly and in due time she gave birth to a boy who was called Ramai Deva. The Chief adopted him and eventually abdicated in his favour, and when it came to his turn to rule, he took the first opportunity of causing the chiefs of the other seven Garhs to be murdered and setting himself up as the ruler over the whole with the title of Maharaja."⁷

L. S. S. O'Malley, in his 'Bengal District Gazetteers Sambalpur', also writes, "According to tradition, Sambalpur was at an early period under the rule of the Maharajas of Patna, who were the head of a cluster of states known as Athar Garhjat (i. e., the 18 forts) and dominated a large tract to the east of Ratanpur Kingdom. Their ancestor is said to have been a Rajput Prince who lived near Mainpuri and was expelled from his territories by the Muhammadans. He came with his family to Patna where he was killed in battle, but his wife who was pregnant, was sheltered by a Binjhal in whose hut she gave birth to a son. At that time Patna was divided amongst eight chiefs, each of whom took it in turn to reign for one day over the whole territory. The Rajput boy, Ramai Deva, on growing up, killed the eight chiefs and made himself sole ruler of Patna".⁸

Cobden-Ramsay, in his 'Feudatory States of Orissa' gives a still different story. "It is said that Hamir Deva had fled from Garh-Shambar and established himself at Manikgarh fort in the hills of Khariar. On one occasion before proceeding to battle, he took leave of his seven wives and told them that should he not return they would be apprised of his death by the homeward flight of some carrier pigeons. He failed to return and was never afterwards heard of ; the return of the pigeons satisfied the Ranis that

he had fallen. Six of them drowned themselves in the pool called Ramdarha near Narsinghnath to the north of the Patna State and the remaining Rani was found wandering in the jungles near Ramud on the border between Patna and Khariar. She was kindly treated by her preserver, a Binjhal ; in due course she delivered a child—Ramai Deva who put an end to the Ath-malik gadi by murdering the eight chiefs and himself assuming supremacy over the eight garhs (forts) which he wielded into the compact state of Patna and thus introduced the administration of Chauhan family.”⁹

Sri S. C. Mullick supports this account in his Oriya work ‘Short History of Kosala’ and adds that the battle, to which Hamir had been, was fought between Ganga king of Orissa and Kalachuri ruler of Ratanpur in A. D. 1138.¹⁰ He gives the date of the foundation of Chauhan dynasty in Patna as 1149 A. D. But it is, no doubt, too early to be admitted by sober history, as Prithviraja III from whom the Patna Chauhans claim descent was not even born by that time.¹¹

Prof. B. C. Mazumdar, basing on the traditions of the Sonepur Durbar, states that one Humeru of the family of Prithviraja of Delhi, having lost his position at Mainpuri in Upper India during the time of the Muhammadan rulers, came with his queens to the border of Patna State where his son Ramai Deva by his mythical powers overthrew the government of the eight Mullicks and established the Chauhan rule.¹²

Prof. R. D. Banerjee makes an analytical study of the Gazetteers compiled by European officers regarding ancestry of the Chauhans of Patna and Sambalpur and comes to the conclusion that, because of different versions in the Gazetteer sources, the Patna-Sambalpur house need not be associated with the Chauhan family of North India. “The only cause which I can assign for this craze for Rajput origin” he concludes, “is the preponderance of the Rajputs as warriors and mercenaries in the 17th century, when, under the Mughals, they spread their fame from Balkh to Assam and from Kashmir to Ahamadnagar.”¹³ Unfortunately, Prof. Banerjee’s conclusion is based on his study of only the Gazeeteers which are, in fact, secondary sources. He has ignored original literary accounts as well as epigraphical records which clearly state that the ruling families of Patna and Sambalpur are a branch of the Chauhans. In ‘Prabodha Chandrika’ composed by Raja Vaijala Deva of Patna kingdom about A. D. 1500, long before the occupation of India by the Mughals, the royal poet has introduced himself as an illustrious scion of the Chauhan family. (Chauhana Vamsa Tilakah).¹⁴ The Kosalananda as well as the Jaya Chandrika dated in the 17th and 18th century respectively state that the rulers of Sambalpur belong to the Chauhan family of Prithviraja. Copper-plate charters issued by Jayanta Singh¹⁵ and Narayana Singh¹⁶ of Sambalpur and Prithvi Singh¹⁷ of Sonepur also bear testimony to their Chauhan lineage. The royal insignia which these rulers have invariably used in their seal and for signature is a Chakra (wheel) with four tridents at the cardinal points and this device has also been used by

the Chauhan chiefs all over India as royal insignia. The Chauhan lineage of these rulers of Western Orissa, therefore, cannot be doubted.

Almost all traditions, indigenous records and accounts left by foreign scholars agree on the points that the founder of the Chauhan rule in Western Orissa was Ramai Deva who belonged to the family of Prithiviraja Chauhan, that he was the posthumous son of Chauhan Chief of Garha Sambhar near Mainpuri in U. P. and that he was born in Patna and brought up by one of the eight Mullicks of that state. In this connection it is interesting to note that a small caste of village watchmen and labourers in the Chhattisgarh is still known as Chauhans. R. V. Russell, who made a study of this caste, states that these people "claim themselves to be of Rajput origin and say that their ancestors came from Mainpuri which is the home of the Chauhan clan of Rajput."¹⁸ Prof. B. C. Mazumdar, who, later on, attempts an anthropological survey of Raipur and Bilaspur districts, supports this fact and writes that "these highly-degraded and illiterate Chauhans of backward Chhattisgarh villages narrate the story that they came to the Chhattisgarh Plains from Mainpuri as camp-followers and soldiers of a Prince of their caste who had to leave Mainpuri in quest of a new country for himself when the Pathan Mahomedans of Delhi made his situation very unsafe."¹⁹ This saying of the illiterate villagers of Chhattisgarh as recorded by Russell and Mazumdar corroborates the traditions and records regarding the coming of the Chauhans from Mainpuri to Patna in Western Orissa.

It may, however, be noted that Garha Sambhar (Sakambhari) is a place located in Rajasthan while Mainpuri is a district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh about 70 K.M. away from Agra. The Orissan Chauhans call themselves Mainpuri as well as Garha-Sambhari because of the fact that they regard themselves as the descendants of the Chauhan ruling families of Mainpuri whose ancestors were Chauhans of Sakambhari, the close relatives of illustrious Prithviraja.

After the defeat and death of Prithiviraja III in A. D. 1192, his kingdom was over-run by the armies of Qutb-ud-din Aibak where-upon scions of Sakambhari Chauhans, whose exact relation with Prithviraja has not been ascertained came to Mainpuri and established there a principality about the year A. D. 1200. From Orissan records we get two different sets of genealogy of the ancestors of Ramai Deva. The Gazetteer sources give the names of thirty one kings with Richpal Singh as the progenitor.²⁰ As Ramai Deva founded his dynasty at Patnagarh in the mid 14th Century A. D., we get hardly 150 years for all his ancestors at Mainpuri and the long list of thirty one rulers, therefore, seems to be highly improbable. The Kosalananda, an earlier work preserves a more accurate and authentic account. It gives the names of only ten kings as the ancestor of Ramai Deva with Alhana Deva as the founder of the line.²¹ E. R. Neave, on the other hand, furnishes a different genealogy of the Chauhan Rajas of Mainpuri with Deo Brahm, "a less distinguished cadet" of the family of Prithiviraja as the

founder.²² The writer of this paper had been to Mainpuri to study the relationship between the Chauhan of that town and of Patnagarh in Orissa. Tradition, preserved by the Chauhans of Mainpuri, reveals that Deo Brahm came to that territory with his four brothers. Alhana Deva is, very likely, a younger brother of Deo Brahm. Tenth in descent from Alhana Deva was Visala Deva who was killed by a Muslim ruler of Delhi and his wife who was at that time enceinte, fled to Patnagarh, where she gave birth to Ramai Deva.

It may be pointed out here that scions of the Mainpuri Chauhans have founded various chiefships in different parts of Northern and Central India, notable among which are Rajaur, Dalippur, Partapner, Eka, Dera, and Patnagarh.²³ This wide dispersion is in fact an important subject of investigation for scholars interested in Rajput history.

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INTERNATIONAL MONETARY RELATIONS DURING 1960'S IN RETROSPECT

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I

THE international monetary system plays a crucial role not only in determining the economic relationship obtained among the nations of the world, but also in shaping the nature and rate of their international growth. The international monetary system has been through something of an ordeal during the sixties. The monetary order established at Bretton Woods has been put into test many times in the sixties. However, it survived the ordeal and has emerged with new foundations. There were changes, quantitative and qualitative, apparent and real, circumstantial and structural. Consequently, the working of the international monetary order is much different from its counterpart during the fifties. Now there seems to be a general concern amongst the nations for the preservation and promotion of an orderly international monetary system and to ensure, by collective and deliberate action, that the system meets their payment needs. But the future only will say how far the changes are adequate in meeting the exigencies of monetary relations among the nations.

For the enumeration of the changes during the sixties a recapitulation of the basic principles on which the system rests since the end of Second World War will be necessary, because the international monetary relationship of the sixties is an off-shoot of the Bretton Woods system. Our discussion in the first part of this paper will depict the Bretton Woods system and the immediate changes, while the second part is devoted to the catalogue of changes during the sixties. The third part is concerned with their implications and the solutions thereto.

II

After the chaotic conditions of the Second World War the monetary system established in 1944 at Bretton Woods Conference was known as 'Gold Exchange Standard in the form of de facto 'Dollar Standard'. Under the system, firstly, the values of world currencies were expressed either in terms of gold or dollar. Secondly, the parties were to be maintained when any country was faced with short term balance of payments problem. In order to enable the country to do this, the International Monetary Fund

went to its help under the drawing rights. In case of fundamental disequilibrium, a change in par value was permitted only after a thorough investigation. Thirdly, the foreign reserve of the central banks consisted, besides gold, of liquid claims against certain key currency countries, namely, the U. S. A. and the U. K. This has prompted some writers to speak of 'Currency Reserve Standard'¹ rather than gold exchange standard. Since dollar was linked with gold and the U. S. A., authorities pledged to transact gold at a stable rate of 35 dollars a fine ounce, there was virtually no distinction between dollar and gold. Moreover, dollar was the most-wanted currency. As a result, dollar was the most important reserve currency. The Sterling was considered to be the second reserve currency partly because of historic reasons, partly because of the dominant position of the London Money Market, and partly because of the stability in the exchange rate between dollar and sterling.

After the War and in the early fifties, the monetary arrangements of the Bretton Woods did not experience anything very much untoward. The exchange reserve need of the various nations were largely met by the increasing American deficit in the balance of payments. Yet, the proportion of imports to American gold reserves was very low. The confidence in the value of dollar was never lost. The relative values of gold and dollar remained in-tact. There was no tendency for upward movement in gold price due to huge Russian sale of gold.

But this happy coincidence was disrupted towards the end of the fifties, more particularly from 1958 onwards. By this time, there was another significant development in the realm of international monetary relations. The European currencies became convertible. Britain introduced de facto convertibility of non-resident sterling. France and twelve other European countries announced that their respective currencies were now freely convertible on current account. This move to the non-resident convertibility by European countries brought in its train a similar move on the part of fifteen other countries, most of which are closely related to them.

"As a result of the events of December, 1958, a large part of world exports are now operating under arrangements more or less on the lines of those which came to be established in 1920's."² At the moment there are seven international payments systems³, (i) the I. M. F., (ii) the E. M. A., (iii) the Sterling Area, (iv) the French Franc Area, (v) the Portuguese Escudo Area, (vi) the Rouble Area and (vii) the Dollar Area.

III

The 1960's started with the free operation of the gold exchange standard. Until 1958, when a substantial number of European currencies became convertible, the international payments were subject to various kinds of restrictions. But from 1958 onwards in European countries the restrictions

disappeared and payments were made free. Goods and even capital moved freely among the various financial centres. The links between them were so strong that slight differences in interest rate could set in motion large international movements of short term capital. But along with its free operations, the deficiencies of the system were brought into limelight. The history of international monetary relations in the 60's is nothing other than the actual occurrences of the events the monetary experts had apprehended earlier. The very beginning of the 60's had highlighted the deficiencies in the system. Confirmation needs only a cursory glance at the course of events.

The first feature of the monetary developments in the 60's is the new problem faced by the American dollar. The old 'dollar shortage' was converted into new 'dollar glut'. This transformation took place firstly because the growing American expenditure on international commitments exceeded the large favourable current account balance. From 1959 upto 1966 the annual average of the overall deficit of the U. S. was 2.7 million dollars. Secondly, the large outflow of capital from the U. S. aggravated the situation. From 1.4 billion dollars in 1959 this outflow has grown to more than three billion dollars in 1965 and 66.⁴ The deficit is not new but the peculiarities lies in its size and persistence. With one exception, deficit has been the regular feature every year since 1951, but from the late 50's the magnitude of the deficits has increased alarmingly.

The second feature is the growing importance of the European Capital markets, while that of America is losing ground. Previously, the European capital markets were small, separated and largely independent of each other. The contributory factor behind this was the instability of European currencies. The sixties witnessed the re-establishment of European money markets with growing interconnection between the national long term capital markets due to the elimination of trade exchange restrictions. At the same time, the functioning of the capital markets in the U. S. has been impaired. In spite of a decreasing ability, the U. S. is increasingly engaged in both long term and short term lendings. But as a banker loses confidence and faces difficulties as he lends in excess of the deposits, the U. S. has run into difficulties by lending much more than what her capacity permits.⁵

Thirdly, the intermittent 'gold-rush' is another significant feature of the sixties. In 1960, there developed economic uncertainties due to continuous U. S. balance of payments deficits and American official attitude on economic and financial questions. American deficits aroused suspicions about the stability of the dollar value. It was speculated that dollar may be devalued. This led to a strong demand for gold in the London money market. "Buying orders, thought to be on private account, then led to a sharp rise in the London price which at one time, on the 20th October, touched the equivalent of 40 dollars per fine ounce."⁶ Official intervention by the British and the American governments as substantial sellers of gold to bring the price down

was not successful. Therefore, in October, '61, the U. S., proposed a 'Gold pool' arrangement. Seven countries, namely Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, West Germany and Britain agreed to co-operate and share with the U. S., the burden of intervention in the London gold market in the event of exceptional and continued demand for gold. In 1962 the situation was reversed and it was suspected that there was a surplus of gold in the market. The Consortium agreed to co-ordinate their purchases whenever the London price was below the official level. The Bank of England made the necessary purchases to hold the gold price at 35 dollars per fine ounce, and the purchases were periodically distributed on the agreed basis. The agreement went on well till 1966 and the pool arrangement succeeded in bringing private speculation under control. It could mobilize more central banks as co-defenders with the U. S., of the gold price.

But these arrangements proved to be only patch works and stop-gap measures. The speculative demand for gold rose sharply, but the world production of gold did not increase adequately, nor did the U. S. S. R. sell gold. Then in the middle of 67-68, France withdrew from the Pool and her share was taken up by the U. S. It was believed that the Pool arrangement was weakened. There followed a number of currency crises. This resulted in another speculative rush in gold price. Gold price went as high as 44 dollars per fine ounce. In the gold rush of March, 1968, there was a virtual collapse of the international monetary system.

To control the situation, the central bankers of the gold pool countries assembled in Washington and evolved the two-tier system, whereby dual prices for gold were allowed—one free market price and the other one was the official price of 35 dollars per fine ounce at which the central banks deal with the U. S. Treasury and the International Monetary Fund. Such an agreement has three aspects. Firstly, the central banks participating agreed neither to buy nor to sell gold in the free markets. The price in those markets will be determined by the demand and supply of gold for non-monetary purposes. Secondly, the central banks will co-operate to help each other in case of crisis. Thirdly, the U. S. and the U. K., were determined to hold the present price of gold. The system serves well so far. The premium on official gold price has declined to a negligible amount. In December last, the price in gold markets fell to its official monetary parity for the first time since 1958.

Another feature of the 60's is the acute balance of payment difficulties facing the major industrial countries of the world. The deficits in the 60's are increasingly large and persistent. The combined position of the U. S. the U. K., and France showed a current account deficit of 1,700 million dollars in 1968, as compared with a surplus of 1,400 million dollars in 1967 and a surplus of 3,500 million dollars in the early 60's.⁷⁷ Nation-wise speaking, excepting the last two years, the U. S., was experiencing abnormal balance of payment difficulties all through the 60's. The story of pound-

sterling is equally bad. This balance of payment problem is not peculiar to the industrialised nations only. Most of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are suffering from foreign exchange 'bottle-neck constraints',⁸ in their development programmes. The first Development Decade has for them stories of non-fulfilment and frustration. As a result of persistent deficits many countries had devalued their currencies.

Lastly, the most striking feature of the 60's is the growing realization by the nations of the world about the needs of monetary cooperation and integration among them. In 1961, the group of Ten entered into a General Agreement to Borrow, under which they envisage to make, if necessity arose, supplementary resources available to the Fund for the use of any of the Ten countries experiencing balance of payment difficulties. The Gold Pool is another example of such co-operation. For the defence of dollar and pound sterling, many 'Swap Arrangements' have been made. On the 15th September, 1966, the dollar Swap net work amounted to 4,500 million dollars.⁹ In the same way, for the rescue of Lira, American aid and Fund assistance was massive. In 1968, the two-tier system for gold price was adopted to help dollar and sterling. In the same year, to save France, the central banks of the gold pool countries announced more than 3 billion dollars' package of new credit. The other important manifestations of co-operation are the two important quota reviews in the I. M. F., the compensatory finance facilities and the activation of Special Drawing Rights (SDR's) scheme.

IV

These developments are pointers to the fact that the international monetary relationship has been disquiet. They simply manifest that the Bretton Woods system is incapable of taking care of the changing monetary relations obtained among these nations. These developments highlight the following four main defects of the International Payments Association :

- (i) the absence of any correlation between external and internal balances—The maintenance of internal equilibrium has prompted nations to sacrifice their external balance if necessity arises. This is more particularly the case with the U. S. In spite of acute external deficit, she has been incurring inflationary financing to maintain internal employment equilibrium. The U. S., being the leading country of the world, the inflation has spread over to other countries and in recent months we have witnessed an upsurge of cost inflation on virtually a global basis. "The inflationary forces have been increasingly difficult to tame. It has made international monetary management difficult".¹⁰
- (ii) the vulnerability of the key currencies to financial stresses—The use of national currencies has resulted in a paradox. On the one

hand, the accumulation of the key currencies by other nations is essential to provide the reserve base, but on the other hand, such accumulation of short term liabilities against the key currency countries reduces the confidence in them and this is detrimental to the smooth functioning of the monetary system. A reflection on the past shows that the 'gold rush' each time has started when the U. S. and the U. K. have suffered heavy balance of payment deficits and when there is a threat to their currencies' stability.

- (iii) the inadequacy of international liquidity and world reserves—It is a controversial question, no doubt. Yet, authorities like Triffin, Harrod, etc., hold the view that world reserves are inadequate and they have grown very slowly. In the five years from the end of 1964 to the end of 1969, world reserves grew by an annual average of a little over 1%, which compares very poorly with a rapidly increasing world trade.¹¹ A shortage in world reserves has led to the speculation that the gold prices may be revised upwards to fill up the gap. This has resulted in frequent 'gold rush', which has posed a threat to the international monetary system.
- (iv) the unequal distribution of world reserves—A few industrial countries have adequate reserves, while the rest of the world starve for it. This has divided the world into 'haves' and 'have-nots',¹² and has created consequent problem of reconciling the conflicting interests of the two opposing camps.

What is the way out of this predicament ? Many solutions have been proposed by the monetary experts from time to time. To me it appears that a way can be found out in the following manner.

Firstly, the national economic policies should be in harmony with the international condition, and as such, their global implications should not be ignored. Internal stability and external balance may be reconciled. Secondly, in view of the vulnerability of key currencies, it is desirable that international monetary system should be based on an international money like S. D. R., instead of the U. S. dollar linked with gold. Therefore, any threat to dollar will not disrupt the monetary relations. The external value of dollar can be changed like that of any other currency. Thirdly, either the supply of international liquidity should be increased or the flexible exchange rate should be introduced on a limited basis. In the former case, the gap in world reserves supply can be adequately bridged up, while in the latter case, the shortage will not arise as the exchange rate changes will equate the supply and demand for reserves. Finally, to avoid the unequal distribution of 'international liquidity' among the nations, the availability of I. M. F. facilities should be linked to the developmental efforts, which may ensure a larger amount for the 'have-nots' of the developing world.

But all these measures require an international understanding. Without an international arrangement, no measure can be adopted. Nations of the world should unite with a sense of preparedness to share and co-operate.

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STUDENTS-INTEREST AT THE UNIVERSITY STAGE

B. MISRA

AND

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“An Interest is a learned motive which drives the person to preoccupy himself with an activity when he is free to choose what he will do.”—
Hurlock.

INTROUCTION

IT is heard very frequently that the College students are showing signs of increasing unrest in most of the Universities. The educational authorities as well as the guardians are very much worried about this. They think that due to the changing society the Interests of the students are shifted from academic pursuits to non-academic pursuits.

History says that in most cultures, Youth is the time to capture passionate interests and loyalty to a specific ideology,—political, economic or religious and revolutionaries appeal to the Youth. This is because of the age of the Youth. The question arises how it can be rationally dealt with ?

There is no doubt that it is useful and desirable for the College and University administration to know the trend of change and its proper use.

This necessitates the study of student-interest at the University stage.

REVIEW OF RELATED STUDIES

The studies of STRONG and KUDAR need worth mentioning in this regard. Though they concentrated their studies particularly on the vocational aspect of Interest, they have opened the window of knowledge in this direction. There have been several studies relating to their studies, one of which was done in India by Dr. S. B. L. Bharadwaj. His study consisted of measuring vocational and avocational interest of graduates. The fields of studies he included were Aesthetic, Scientific, Social, Clerical, Outdoor, Mechanical and Business.

Another analysis of Female Interest-patterns have been made by Strong in 1943 which was followed by the studies of Crissy and Daniel. Their study suggested four related factors of Interest, such as—

- (a) Interest in people,
- (b) Interest in language,
- (c) Interest in Science,
- (d) Interest in male associations.

A similar study was done by Coates in 1950 in the London University. The study suggested four types of adult Interest. They were,

- (a) Religious,
- (b) Aesthetic,
- (c) Theoretical,
- (d) Social.

The last two studies mentioned above have motivated the author to undertake the present study.

SCOPE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

At present the students' problem is not confined within the studies. It is a concern of all. Specifically when the problem is relating to the students it is a concern of the Institutional authorities, College and University teachers, the guardians and parents of the students, the students themselves and the public in general.

The fields of Interest included in the study are all related to the students and they are eleven in number. They are mentioned in the ranking sheet.

The population from which the sample was selected belonged to senior College students, Principals of Colleges, College teachers, guardians and advocates.

PROCEDURE

A number of enlightened persons were asked to mention the fields of student-interest. From the list, eleven essential fields were chosen and the following sample was requested to act as judges.

<i>Sample</i>				<i>No.</i>
Principals	..	..	..	15
Lecturers	..	..	..	15
Guardians	..	..	..	15
Advocates	..	..	..	15
Students	..	..	..	15
TOTAL				75

Each member of the above sample was given the following typed sheet of paper and was requested to rank the Interests.

RANKING SHEET

The following are the fields of Interest, suggested by different persons worth cultivating by College students. You are requested to rank them in order of importance for any student. For example, if you consider that educational interest is of first importance, write 1 (one), against the word,

and if you consider moral interest is of second importance write 2, against the word and so on.

<i>Interest</i>	<i>Rank</i>
1. Political	—
2. Educational	—
3. Vocational	—
4. Cultural	—
5. Religious	—
6. Athletic	—
7. Scientific	—
8. Artistic	—
9. Social	—
10. Economic	—
11. Moral	—

Name and designation please.

All the persons requested complied sincerely and all the papers were collected.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

All the papers were grouped according to the type of sample mentioned above. The order of merit or rank was changed into numerical scores with the help of the formula—

$$\text{Percent position} = \frac{100(R-.5)}{N}$$

This was done for each group. Again the group scores were considered as ranks and using the same procedure the ultimate order of merit for cultivation of Interest for College students were found out.

FINDINGS—The following order of merit was computed for different sample.

Interest.	SAMPLE				
	Principals.	Lecturer.	Guardian.	Students.	Advocates
Political ..	11	9	10	6	11
Educational ..	1	1	1	1	1
Vocational ..	4	4	2	8	3
Cultural ..	2	5	6	3	2
Religious ..	9	10	8	9	7
Athletic ..	7	8	9	10	6
Scientific ..	6	7	7	7	8
Artistic ..	10	11	11	11	10
Social ..	5	3	3	4	4
Economic ..	8	6	5	2	9
Moral ..	3	2	4	5	5

FINAL ORDER OF MERIT

<i>Interest</i>		<i>Order of Merit</i>
Educational	.. ..	1
Cultural	.. ..	2
Moral ..	.. ..	3
Social ..	.. ..	4
Vocational	.. ..	5
Economic	.. ..	6
Scientific	.. ..	7
Athletic	.. ..	8
Religious	.. ..	9
Political	.. ..	10
Artistic ..	.. ..	11

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. The findings suggest that all are unanimously agreed that educational interest is of highest importance.

2. Regarding the second position in the list of interest, it is interesting to note that the Principals and the Advocates are in favour of the Cultural interest of the students where as both the guardians as well as the students themselves are in favour of the vocational interest. The lecturers however ave given second place to moral interest, of the children.

3. Regarding the third position in the list of interest it may be seen that the Principals stress on morality, the lecturers and guardians stress on social interest, where as the advocates give this place to vocational interest. In the opinion of the students however, cultural interest should occupy this place.

4. The findings also suggest that all the various categories of intellectuals included in this study show their indifference to religious and artistic interest. It is also seen that there is a very little diversity in the opinion of the judges regarding the place of athletic and scientific interest.

5. Another important case is the political interest. It will be seen that the students give it a much higher position than others. The Principals and the Advocates give last position to Political interest and in the opinion of the guardians and the lecturers this interest occupy the tenth and the ninth position respectively. It clearly shows that excepting the students themselves all intellectuals are agreed on the view that political interest is of very minor importance in the field of education.

A STUDY ON ANCIENT POLITICAL THOUGHTS

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THE peoples of the ancient world left their store house of political thoughts in the pages of religious treatises. The craving for achieving material prosperity here and spiritual welfare hereafter prompted them to evolve a political institution i.e., government, within the community life. Emergence of social institutions brought about an interaction between the individual and the community life. In literature, epics closing with a note of tragedy depicted that clash between the individual aspirations and community achievements. The possibility of the break-down of social institutions on the rocks of individual ideas of freedom and self-realisation guided the ancient political thinkers, who were also religious leaders, to put forth a romanticised state of nature in a long forgotten golden age. "To live according to nature came to be considered as the end for which man was created and which the best men were bound to compass."¹ This never-attainable utopia gave men inspirations for generations to form the corporate life and also to tear it asunder by clash of arms when necessity demanded.

The history of the political thoughts of the ancient peoples was shaped by their idea to revive that golden age which would reevaluate their individual existence in the community life. Existence of similar material conditions in the shape of social forces among the different ancient peoples produced same type of political ideas. Even cross-connexions of cultural trends of diverse peoples produced similar political norms which were institutionalised, ultimately giving rise to unity in socio-economic phenomena under simultaneous impacts in the societies. A study of these phenomena prompts one to believe that political institutions were inseparably connected with the then religious convictions. The fundamental religious beliefs in the shape of dogma gave rise to three features in the trends of ancient political thoughts. The first idea with regard to the origin of the state was based on the dogma that God, the owner of this Universe had a covenant with his vicar on the earth, the king. "Heroic kingship depended partly on divinely given prerogative, and partly on the possession of super-eminent strength, courage and wisdom."² The evolution of the monarchical authorities from the genesis of 'Patria potestas' was associated with the divine right theory.³ The second idea with regard to the religious sanctions behind the legal norms was based on the dogma of implied contract between the people and their chiefs. The contractual origin of the legal institutions united the chief with his people by the tie of loyalty and consent of the 'common will'. The

third idea i. e., unity of political institutions and religious ideas gave birth to the dogma that the body-polity formed the organic whole. The belief increasingly gained ground that one institution is inseparably connected with the other, the church with the government, the executive with the legislature, that God in the heaven and the king on the earth constituted the fountain head of all productive forces and politico-legal institutions and ideas.

These features found diverse manifestations in the history of thought movements in different regions of the ancient world. Misr, the Greek name for ancient Egypt, was a land of the people who were said to have immigrated from the land of Punt, the holy land, something like the state of nature in a golden age, which historically stood for either Etheopia or the Somali coast-lines.⁴ The settlements of the tribal Egyptians in the old and middle kingdoms led to the universal belief in the superiority of a Sun-god, a belief common to other tribal settlements. To them 'Ra', the sun-god was ever-present in their life for their very individual existence in the society. The realisation of a holy mission hereafter for their corporate life was possible only through the endeavour of the Pharaoh. He was ordained by the God who combined in him the headship of the church, judiciary and the army. The activities of the whole nation was harnessed to the realisation of the glory of that individual priest-king. And mighty public works were undertaken for providing his permanent abode hereafter when he would unite with Ra after death. The separate existence of the individual was lost in that totalitarian society and even the church and army were subservient to his semi-divine will. But the Pharaoh was made amenable to the prophetic visions of the oracles and ultimately subjected to the ritualistic dictates of the wise priests mainly from the XVIIIth dynasty.⁵

The invention of iron, introduction of cavalry and the great tribal movements of the Asia Minor leading to the influx of the Hyksos and the Mitannians stimulated already existent idea of imperialism. The glory of the god of Amon found philosophical idealisation in the emergence of Aton. From the regime of Ikh-n-Aton a process of consequent democratisation in the society brought new justification to the emergence of a class of feudal lords who shared the pharaonic authorities for mummification of their bodies to be united with the royal god hereafter.⁶ They divided the governmental obligations among them also.

In Central Asia between 1000-900 B. C. the tribal settlements with precise boundaries, possessing loose federal organisations extending over an area and prosecuting commerce or fighting with one another, were gradually settling down. The city kindoms gradually developed with fortified towns like Ashur or Bit-Khalupi and allied with races which were incapable to dominate over the other. But they realised unity in commercial transactions through Babylon, Niveveh, Arbela and by a common religion based on fear. The personal relation of the individual to his Gods found expression in the confession of sin and eventual release from its consequences. The place

of the supreme deity in the Babylonian pantheon was occupied by Marduk which belonged in the northern kingdom to Ashur. In the Assyrian version of the creation epic Ashur was the hero of the great gods in their war against Tiamat. Ashur descended into the underworld and had eventually his resurrection.

From the epics of Gilgamesh and that of Descent of Istar an idea about the rudimentary political institutions could be obtained which emerged out of man's universal craving for winning an immortal life. It would enable him to overcome his antagonists but that remained unattainable. This truth Gilgamesh, a typical (legendary king of Erech in the 5th century B. C. of the First dynasty) individual gained from Uta-Napistim, the wiseman who represented a class of seers, the 'baru' enjoying a pre-eminent position in the ancient society.

The land of Ashur was ruled by one King. The district governors were his officer, considered as servants. The institution of limmu (the rite of taking the hands of Bel and leading Marduk out in his triumphal procession by the officials in turn annually) prevented the district governors from striving to set themselves up as independent kings. From 856 to 752 B. C., names of five such governors (tartanu) were known. The rite ultimately became institutionalised as the ill-advised attempt to abrogate the rotation of the limmu office by Ashur-Nirari IV ended in a failure. During the regimes of Tukulti-Ninurta II, Ashur-nasir-Pal and Shalmaneser III the state organisation was still rudimentary but necessitated by further conquests witnessed the extension of monarchical authority.

Absolute monarchical authority had a check by the personal application by the kings to the gods for guidance, a demand for direction in affairs of national emergency. Esharhaddon and Ashurbanipal carried the examples of their forefathers when they sought oracular verdict from Istar of Arbela. The oracles of the gods, the 'baru' or seers connected with the science of omens, held a supreme position in Assyria as in Hellas, that gave the aristocratic class a preponderance over the government. Because from this class the priests were recruited.

Changes in administrative system introduced division of territorial districts into smaller administrative units. The province of Ashur was divided into two parts, Ashur and Ekallate and smaller areas were termed 'Pakhati' borrowing from Babylonia while its governor was termed 'Bel pakhati' or 'shaknu'. District governors were supported by deputies termed 'amelu shanu', burgomasters or 'khazanu' and other civil and military officers. During the regime of Tiglath Pilaser III these changes in new division were introduced as the idea for a welfare-state gradually gained ground which remained in force until the fall of Assyria.⁷

The Assyrian governors then seem to have devoted themselves securing prosperity of the lands under control. They assumed independence, justified by the passivity of their sovereign. Samash-resh-usur, the governor of Mari

and the land of Sukhi, suppressed the Timanu tribe which attacked his capital Ribanish and set up a monument to record his exploits. He introduced bee-culture into his province.

But the army could not escape from being influenced by the church. The Assyrian army carried the divine symbol in the battles, preferably in the chariot of the king himself and set it up in the conquered cities to be worshipped by the new subjects as an implied covenant between the god and the people. Opposition to the Assyrian overlord or rebellion was thought to be a sin against Ashur or Marduk. The expiation of sin against the national god could only be accomplished by ritual ceremonies to be conducted only by the Assyrian priests.

Extension of monarchical authority contained the germs of imperialism and paved the way for expansion of clerical power in the fiscal and educational fields. Extension of frontier quickened the process of immigration of population in the shape of tribal movements and widened the mental horizon of citizens. Thus ultimately in the Assyrian empire there were besides natural citizens other subjects, such as (1) tributary peoples who paid revenue in kind, (2) tributary peoples who respect royal authority by instituting viceroys, the zabil kuduri and were subjected to forced labour and, (3) cities who were subjected to complete subjection by a governor called Shaknu or Urasu whose word was law.

The continuous warfare for spreading the glory of the royal god depleted the Assyrian treasury, sapped the efficiency of the army and revealed the creeping debility of the representative of the royal house during 782 to 746 B. C. The collapse of the royal power synchronised with the rising tide of the Hittite and Scythian population from the Central Asia leading to the spread of the Hattic gods. Herodotus gave two surveys as to the origin of the nomad scyths in the 5th century B. C. and both the legends agree in making the Scythians came into existence in the country called after them, about a thousand years after the invasion of Darius. The Hattic God appeared as a warrior armed with sword, bow and long spear standing erect to strike a bull. Evidently he came to be assimilated to Hadad of the Semites and Teshub of the Mitanni and with Egyptian Sutekh. His appellation was possibly Tarku but ultimately his name also belonged to the local gods of other societies than the Hattic as the Hittites engulfed Asia Minor.⁸

A new chapter in the history of political thought movements opened up with the spread of Hebrew civilization. It crossed Asia, influenced the Greek political thoughts and ultimately stimulated the then Roman political ideas. The Old Testament is the main source about the Hebrews which contains the history of Israel and Judah in the books of Samuel kings and the chronicles. But that did not supply any convincing sketch of the union of the tribes of Israel and Judah into a single monarchy. But the effect of the evidence derived from comparative jurisprudence is to establish the theory that the political institutions of the human race had their origin in

the patriarchal family⁹. Jacob's children became a people and the father with patria potestas ultimately became king. The evolution of political ideas and institutions developed into three chapters, threw considerable light on the impelling forces aiming at the settlement of the people into a nation-state, its natural emphasis on the monarchical system and consequently its final development into a kingdom of prophet-priests.

In the initial stage Moses, released the Jews from the pharaonic slavery, led the Exodus and gave the people Ten Commandments of God for their leading a God-fearing holy life in the promised land of Israel. There are three very important changes to be noticed since the Amarna age : (1) The dawn of the iron age, although bronze still continued in use, (2) the intricate cuneiform syllabary with its hundreds of signs were replaced by a simple alphabet of 22 consonants and (3) Yahwism became the national religion standing in need of reform. Application of the idea of Jeremiah's New Covenant to every Israelite could be studied in the initial stage of her career. Instead of the centralisation of the Yehwah worship a common unifying tradition may be observed. This revealed the history of a treasured people, which was idealised. It had a destiny which gave them a status and a charter. It was the history of every son of Israel in his relation to Yehwah and the outside world. The ever-present longing for achieving utopia, in the form of a divine contract stimulated a moral order, a divine operation in history, the violation of which might bring divine punishment on individual and corporate life. The Israelite believed how Yehwah guarded and guided his fathers, rewarded kindness and helped the suffering Hagar.

The political unity leading to the unity of the national church paved way for increasing conviction for 'cujus regio ejus-religio' and that outlawry and exile could deprive a man of the god's protection. Yehweh was closely associated with the temple at Jerusalem. His presence made the city inviolable. But there remained always religions of varying qualities outside the recognised and orthodox cults. Introduction of Yehwism did not exclude the functional and local gods which preceded and outlived it and ultimately changed their character. These local cults, answered popular needs, were more accessible to the people below the society and as such the state-church had to face the ever-recurring conflict between the lower and the higher forms of religion.

But in the Hebrew society legal and religious ideas were interwoven. There was a collective interest in keeping the land pure and in certain cases the community was expected to execute judgement of 'sophet' which would be a semi-religious ceremony. Law was 'torah' direction. The more expressive term 'mishpat' connotes what was customary and characteristic—the manner and nature of things. The first great collection of laws, the Book of the Covenant presupposes an agricultural community. Deuteronomy, the first Bible as it was called, was a book of religious instructions and orders. The religious observations were a bond of mutual love between God and the

people which was disciplinary. The monarchical autocracy explains the inculcation of the strictest obedience to Yehwah.

The king like the priest and the prophets, was Yehwah's anointed. He was inviolable and stories of David's attitude to Saul significantly stress the inviolability even of a bad king. The kingship, shaped by ideas of the gods, developed the idea of contract between the people and the king which became prominent after its decay. Loyalty to the king was the essence of Jonathan's Parable. Like the Assyrian kings they began to distinguish between ordinary enemies and those who treacherously break their covenants. The inauguration of a new era by a new king influenced ideas of a Messiah which proved the strength of ancient idea on divine kingship. As supreme judge and court of appeal the strong king could protect his people from the powerful nobles who no doubt, played a prominent part in the political and religious developments.

In the period of the Prophets instead of a king there was a chief (nasi). He would neither alienate any one of his estate nor of his other possessions. But his royal power diminished. This period witnessed hardly a separation of church and the state but a subordination of the state to the church. But the religion against which the prophets gave their verdicts was one that justified their condemnation. The chief features of religion of the age of the prophets may be summed up thus—(1) the monarchical character of the religion, the dynastic ideas and all that is bound up with priestly kingship, (2) ideas of life after death, cult of the dead and ancestor cult, (3) human sacrifice, temple prostitutions and other creeping evils in the church, (4) polytheism, cosmic, animal and mystical cults and lastly, (5) richness of the myths.

The Hebrew ideas on political philosophy found expression in the religio-political structure of the Holy Roman Empire. The modern political thinkers could not also escape from being influenced by them. But a new secular outlook on individual and community life and a sense of rationalism dawned with the beginning of the Greek political thought movements in and around the age of Pericles when Greece came into clash with the imperialism of Asia. Athens, a democratic city-state succeeded in repulsing the Persian imperialism only to take up those imperialistic postures herself. The Peloponnesian war ended the career of Athenian imperialism but the dream of an Asiatic empire on the ashes of the Persian imperialism remained to be fulfilled in the person of Alexander of Macedonia. The Greek mind became introspective and discovered the empire of knowledge. The contributions of Sophists, of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle quickened the impulse for a secular thinking to find out justification for the existence of state and government in the individual and corporate life.

To define the character of the Greek thought movements is a difficult task. But a close study of the ideas transmitted by the political philosophers revealed that they conceived the state as the product of a creative mind. It

was conceived not as a legal or a merely political entity but as a moral association. They took it as a partnership in virtue. Moreover, the thinkers took nature as the source of law and man's reason as the means to discover nature's whims. In earlier times of Homer and Hesiod, law was connected with religion and was based upon custom and tradition. Themistes are the awards themselves, divinely dictated to the judge. "Zeus, or the human king on earth", says Prof. Grote, "is not a law-maker, but a judge." Later on, the importance of the written laws began to be realised when political authority was abused. This led to the codification of the Spartan laws by Lycurgus and reforms of Draco, Solon and Cleisthenes in Athens. They identified the state with the ruling class and the whole people was identified with the government.

To sum up, political science in the hands of the Greeks became a three-pronged discovery. They studied state from political, legal and moral points of view. It became a trilogy investigating political, legal and moral theories. But in the main the Greek political ideas were the product of the city-state for the city-state.¹² The Greeks were habituated to breathe in the free air of liberty. The waves of political hegemony crossed the peninsula from the south to the north. It was a transition from the sovereign city-state to the imperialism of a city-state, from the Spartan ascendancy to the Macedonian imperialism.

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